AN INTERNATIONAL DAILY NEWSPAPER

WEDNESDAY, MAY 5, 1993

75¢ ($1.00 CANADIAN)

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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VOL. 85, NO. 111

ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF/FILE

NEW VENUES: *Experts say the best solution for the US trade deficit is a move into 'vanguard' markets like Russia, where this Moscow billboard represents a growing appetite for US products.*

Clinton Team Begins Effort to Export To 'Vanguard' Markets

By Amy Kaslow

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

CLINTON'S TRADE POLICY

TRADE experts – from White House policymakers to US exporters – say the best way to redress the nation's resurgent trade deficit is to broaden the focus beyond familiar but often frustrating markets and venture into largely unexplored territory.

A failure to do so, they say, costs American producers lucrative opportunities in densely populated countries with fast-growing economies that have an increasing appetite for industrialized-world supplies.

Opportunities in China, rapidly developing East Asia, India, Russia, and other "vanguard" markets represent enormous potential outlets for US business. But while Europe and Japan are gaining a competitive advantage, the US is slowed by a range of foreign policy and credit concerns as well as American parochialism.

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BALKAN PEACEKEEPING

West Prepares to Enforce UN Peace Plan for Bosnia

Thousands of NATO troops will be deployed if the cease-fire holds

By Peter Grier

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

AS the North Atlantic Treaty Organization draws up peacekeeping plans for Bosnia, the United States and its allies appear close to their most extensive deployment of military force since the Gulf war of 1991.

The plans may yet prove unnecessary. The self-styled Bosnian Serb parliament could still reject on May 5 the United Nations peace agreement that was finally signed by Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic three days earlier. On May 4, Serb forces reportedly were continuing fierce attacks on the Muslim enclave of Zepa in eastern Bosnia.

US troops won't be committed to the Balkans unless a cease-fire takes hold among the battling Serbs, Croats, and Muslims. Administration officials have been pushing for tough action against the Serbs, including air strikes, if they don't fall in line.

But Secretary of State Warren Christopher has promised European leaders that if the Bosnian Serbs ratify the peace agreement the US will carry its share of the load. "There is no question the United States is committed to helping in the enforcement of a viable good-faith agreement. We realize that will involve United States troops as well as those of our allies," Mr. Christopher said on May 4, before meeting French Prime Minister Edouard Balladur.

As he traveled to European capitals for consultations this week, Christopher found only lukewarm support for the apparent US get-tough plan: limited air strikes, plus lifting the arms embargo for Bosnian Muslims. Britain, France, and other allies were instead more enthusiastic about the chances for the UN-led peace process finally to take hold.

Commenting before Mr. Christopher's lunch meeting with French Foreign Minister Alain Juppé, Foreign Ministry spokesman Richard Duqué said, "What counts most is that international pressure remain as strong as possible" on the Bosnian Serbs to accept the peace plan.

In an effort to seal approval of the Vance-Owen plan, Greek Prime Minister Konstantinos Mitsotakis announced he would fly to Bosnia May 5 to attend the Bosnian Serbs' parliamentary meeting.

The irony, in the view of US

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Even if Bosnian Serbs Accept Plan, Implementing It Will Be Difficult

By Lucia Mouat

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

WHETHER or not Bosnia-Herzegovina becomes a nation of 10 provinces depends largely on the Bosnian Serbs, who have long argued that geographically scattered ethnic pockets will not work.

A formidable mix of outside pressures may force a shift in their stance. But even if the Bosnian Serbs agree to sign an international plan, peace in the Balkans – even implementation of the pact – is still far from certain.

On May 5 the self-styled Bosnian Serb parliament is to approve or reject the decision made in Athens three days earlier by its leader, Radovan Karadzic, to sign the proposed map and structure for an interim government. The Bosnian Croats and Muslims have already accepted the four-part plan written by United Nations and European Community mediators Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen.

Though efforts to isolate the Bosnian Serbs in the past have made them even more defiant, strong new pressures, including tightened UN sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro, the two remaining republics of rump Yugoslavia, are at work. President Boris Yeltsin of Russia, a traditional ally of the Serbs, has warned the Bosnian Serbs to expect no further protection if they continue to resist the UN plan. Washington continues to threaten military intervention. "I think these have focused minds in a very positive way," says Mark Nelson, a senior associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

If the Bosnian Serbs vote yes,

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Sweden's Shrinking Welfare State
Critics worry that economic reform will terminate the country's cradle-to-grave benefits.
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Sri Lanka tries to reverse a decade of ethnic hatred – which probably lies behind the killing of its president.
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Decorating That 'Outdoor Room'
New books on gardens and their adornments offer many ideas.
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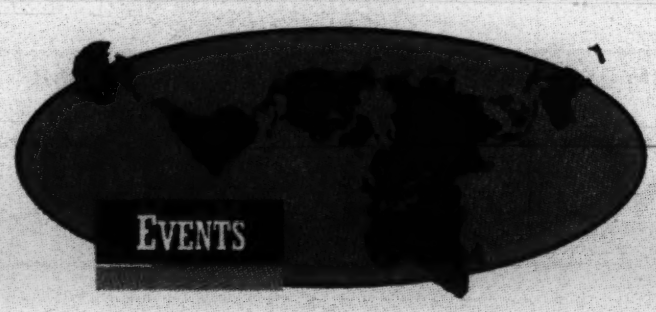


AID FOR GAZA, WEST BANK PLANNED
The World Bank is considering a $1 billion aid package to develop the West Bank and Gaza Strip during interim self-government, according to a Palestinian delegate to the multilateral Middle East peace talks. Samirr Huleileh, a senior member of the Palestinian team to the multilateral economic talks that resumed May 4 in Rome, told Reuters the bank would seek final approval for aid to cover a five-year interim period of self rule being negotiated with Israel in the main Middle East peace talks. Economic development has been limited in these territories for 25 years by Israeli occupation and the last five and a half years by the Palestinian uprising against Israeli rule.

Amnesty questioned

The Lebanese government has appealed a military court ruling that the bombing of the United States Embassy in Beirut in 1983 was covered by an amnesty for war crimes, officials in Beirut said May 4. Judge Nasri Lahoud, the government's delegate at the military tribunal, argued that the bombing, which killed 63 people, involved diplomats and political leaders and should not be included in the amnesty for offenses committed during the civil war between 1975 and 1990.

Cult children abused

Children who left the Branch Davidian cult compound said David Koresh gave girls as young as 11 plastic Stars of David that signified they were ready to be his wives, the New York Times reported May 4. The children, who left the compound during the 51-day siege that began Feb. 28, also told social workers that Koresh told them to call their parents "dogs" and refer only to him as their father. The paper quoted from the report of a team headed by Dr. Bruce D. Perry, chief of psychiatry at Texas Children's Hospital in Houston. The team interviewed 19 of the 21 surviving children, ages 4 to 11.

Woman governs in German state

Germany appears certain to get its first woman at the head of a state government after Heide Simonis was nominated by the governing party May 4 to succeed Bjoern Engholm as governor of Schleswig-Holstein. Ms. Simonis, an economist, has been finance minister in Germany's northernmost state. She became acting governor after Engholm resigned his posts as national head of the Social Democratic Party and state governor. And in Düsseldorf, former East German spymaster Markus Wolf – who headed the Communist East German spy apparatus from 1953 to 1986 – went on trial May 4 for treason, espionage, and bribery.

German strike continues

Striking East German steel workers and management agreed May 4 to resume negotiations in hopes of ending a landmark steel and engineering strike over the low rate of east German wages. But east Germany's first strike in more than 60 years grew the same day to 38,000. The International Metalworkers' Federation, representing 18 million workers in 70 countries, has decided to support the strike.

Yeltsin may cancel again

Russian President Boris Yeltsin, widely expected to visit Tokyo later this month, may leave his Japanese hosts in the lurch for the second time in a year, news reports in Tokyo said May 4. Yeltsin, who called off a planned trip to Japan last September with just four days' notice, may also cancel a visit tentatively slated for the end of May due to a bitter territorial dispute and political tensions at home, a Russian official told a newspaper.

China makes US badges

A factory in rural China has been cranking out military emblems for the US military and state police since 1991, Beijing's Farmers Daily said. The Jinxiang Badge Factory near Wenzhou, Zhejiang Province, manufactures insignia for more than 100 US military units and for police forces in all 50 states. Japan and Taiwan used to have the business.

– Compiled by David Mutch

NATIONAL

Republican Candidates Begin Maneuvers for 1996 Nomination

By Max Boot
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

ONLY about half a year has passed since the last presidential election, but it's not too early for politicians with visions of the White House dancing before their eyes to start thinking about the 1996 race.

Two potential candidates – former Vice President Dan Quayle and the Rev. Pat Robertson, who ran in 1988 – are said by those who know them to be disinclined to mount a presidential bid in four years. The remaining Republican wannabes are quietly manuevering for position:

■ Former Cabinet members Jack Kemp and William Bennett are both active in Empower America, a new GOP "shadow government," and on the lecture circuit.

■ Richard Cheney, former Defense Secretary, is hanging his hat at the American Enterprise Institute, a conservative think tank in Washington. He, too, is speaking around the country.

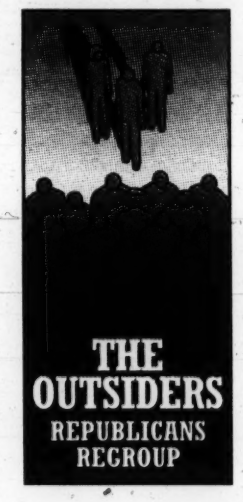
■ Senate minority leader Bob Dole of Kansas has grabbed a high-profile role opposing President Clinton's $16.3 billion economic-stimulus package and other measures. Meanwhile, he has visited New Hampshire – site of the first presidential primary – twice in the past two weeks to address political meetings.

■ Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas quietly has been sending out feelers to Ross Perot's camp to build support for his balanced-budget constitutional amendment.

■ Rep. Robert Dornan of California, a fiery conservative nicknamed "B-1 Bob" for his support of the eponymous bomber, has been dropping broad hints to the press that he may throw his hat into the ring.

■ Govs. Pete Wilson (California), William Weld (Massachusetts), and John Engler (Michigan) have been keeping up their national visibility by visiting Washington fairly regularly. But their chances are, in large measure, dependent on how their home state economies perform – and so far, they aren't doing very well.

■ Patrick Buchanan, the only challenger to George Bush in the 1992 GOP primaries, has returned to his syndicated column and CNN's "Crossfire" program. He also has founded his own political organization, The American Cause.



The clear early favorites for the nomination are Messrs. Dole and Kemp. Dole now has the highest support of any Republican in opinion polls, but in the presidential race he may be handicapped by his advanced age (he will be 73 in 1996) and his hard-edged, cynical demeanor, which hurt him in the 1988 race.

Kemp has won the early support of many in the party who view him as the true inheritor of Ronald Reagan's mantle (George Bush, they believe, was only a pretender). "Kemp can forge together the different sides of the Republican coalition," says Eric Rittberg, a self-proclaimed libertarian from Tallahassee, Fla.

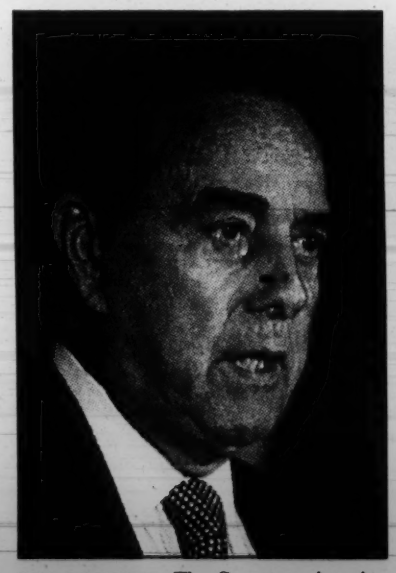
But key questions persist about Kemp, who has never held an elected office higher than congressman and whose last bid for the White House, in 1988, fizzled from the start. Many hard-core conservatives view him as a "big-government, big-spending establishment bureaucrat," in the words of John Hemenway, a Washington, D.C., political activist.

Among the other potential candidates, only Mr. Buchanan seems to generate much enthusiasm among the party faithful – in large part because of his quixotic run against Mr. Bush last year. But most analysts share the view of former Sen. Warren Rudman (R) of New Hampshire who says, "Pat Buchanan can't be nominated for president of the United States" because of his extreme views.

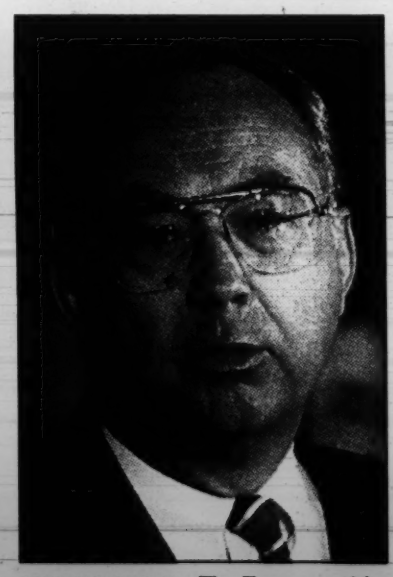
That leaves the other possible candidates to jockey for position over the next four years. Like many hopefuls before them, they will visit New Hampshire and Iowa, make contacts with key fund-raisers, kibbitz with members of the fourth estate, and hope for the best.

At this stage, it's far too early to tell who will claw his way to the top. "Things are volatile and unpredictable right now," says William Kristol, one-time chief of staff to former Vice President Quayle. He suggests that the GOP race could see a wild-card entry, such as Joint Chiefs chairman Gen. Colin Powell, retired Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, or even Mr. Perot. "The safest prediction is that we'll be surprised by an awful lot that happens," Mr. Kristol says.

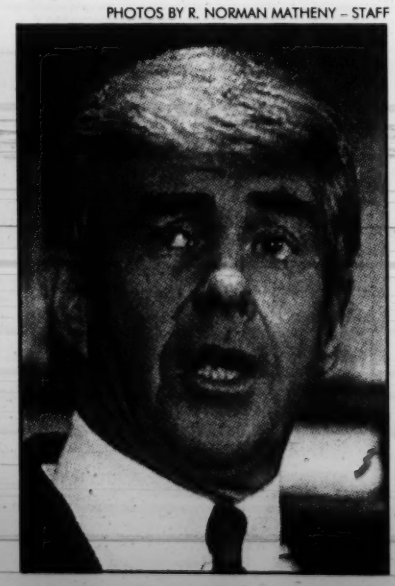
PHOTOS BY R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF



SEN. BOB DOLE: *The Senate minority leader has the highest support of any Republican in opinion polls.*



SEN. PHIL GRAMM: *The Texan could win over Perot backers with his budget-balancing efforts.*



JACK KEMP: *The former New York congressman could be the choice of Reagan-style Republicans.*

Christian Coalition uses its organizational muscle to back family issues, while rival Republican Majority Coalition wants issues such as abortion, gay rights out of politics

GOP Wages War at Grass Roots

By Max Boot
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

"THERE'S a battle going on for what the Republican Party will be," says former Sen. Warren Rudman (R) of New Hampshire. The fight, he says, is over whether such social issues as abortion and gay rights will form a central part of the Republican message.

In the past, such a debate might have been decided in the proverbial smoke-filled back rooms. But in the age of Ross Perot, social issues are the subject of a heated duel in grass-roots organizing between the Republican Majority Coalition (RMC) – a group of centrist Republicans, including Mr. Rudman – and the Christian Coalition, a group founded by the Rev. Pat Robertson that speaks for many on the Christian Right.

In this battle, the Christian Coalition has an edge in experience – it has been around since 1988, while the RMC was founded in January – and organizational muscle. Ralph Reed, the coalition's boyish-looking executive director, reels off a series of numbers demonstrating his group's reach: 250,000 dues-paying members, a mailing list of 2.2 million names, and 60,000 churches the group communicates with. "We expect to double our membership this year," Mr. Reed boasts.

So far, most Christian Coalition activities have been targeted at local politics. For instance, the group often holds "Leadership Schools" to teach activists how to get involved in neighborhood politics. In 1992, coalition activists ran in some 500 United States elections for such policy-making bodies as school boards and city councils; they won 40 percent of the races, according to People for the American Way, a liberal lobbying group. Recently, coalition foot soldiers played a major role in backing a conservative slate of candidates in New York City school-board elections held May 4.

Now the Christian Coalition has moved onto the national scene. Earlier this year, the group opened a three-person lobbying office in a redbrick town house a few blocks from the US Capitol. "We're doing the Lord's work in the devil's city," cracks Marshall Wittmann, the coalition's director of legislative affairs.

Mr. Wittmann sees his primary job as keeping the group's members informed about its top-priority issues, which this year are supporting a balanced-budget constitutional amendment and family tax relief while opposing the Freedom of Choice bill. When it comes to lobbying, the organizational prowess of the Virginia Beach, Va.-based group takes over.

The Christian Coalition, for example, recently mailed 3.2 million "congressional scorecards" telling supporters how their congressmen have voted on "family issues." On issues the coalition deems important, it will send an "action alert" to members, asking them to contact their lawmakers to express their views. To expedite this lobbying, Reed says, "We're in the process of building a massive fax network that will connect 10,000 activists to their congressmen by the end of the year."

Much of the money to support this political organizing comes from the sort of aggressive direct-mail fund-raising that Moral Majority and other Christian Right groups pioneered in the early 1980s. The average gift to the Christian Coalition, Reed says, is $19. The coalition's budget last year was $8.4 million; this year, its goal is to raise $11 million.

CHRIS WILKINS/AFP/FILE

REPUBLICANS GATHER AT 1992 NATIONAL CONVENTION, HOUSTON: *Sharp disagreements over social issues are seen by many party activists as the cause for President Bush's defeat. Success of conservatives alarmed pro-choice Republicans, who launched Republican Majority Coalition.*

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF

MARSHALL WITTMANN: *Christian Coalition lobbyist lists group's top issues: supporting balanced-budget amendment, family tax relief.*

The success of the Christian Coalition and other Christian Right groups has alarmed pro-choice Republicans. Many within the GOP – including its former chairman, Rich Bond – blamed the prominence of evangelicals at the 1992 Houston convention for George Bush's defeat in November.

In an attempt to counter the Christian Right's influence, a group of middle-of-the-road Republicans – including former Rep. Tom Campbell of California, Sen. Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas, and industrialist David Packard – formed the RMC. "We'd like to change the background music of the next convention," Rudman says, by having the party not take a stand on abortion and other social issues. "Social issues are volatile and emotional. They touch on religious beliefs, they're not rational. They're things you should keep out of politics."

So far, however, even Rudman concedes that the RMC has not done much to accomplish its goals. The group's launch received a fair amount of publicity, but, Rudman says, "The announcement was premature." Since January, the RMC has organized a forum on the future of the Republican Party, to be held May 10 at the National Press Club here; mailed out some initial fund-raising letters; and recruited volunteer coordinators in Iowa and New Hampshire. But that's about it.

The RMC's national chairman, Mr. Campbell, is back in California, teaching at Stanford University Law School. Holding down the fort in Washington is Bob Myerson, a recent college graduate who works for no pay as RMC executive director. He hopes to raise $250,000 this year to pay for the group's activities. "We don't have a Washington office yet. We're working out of my apartment," Mr. Myerson says. "But I'm hoping we'll get out of here soon and get an office downtown."

While the RMC's slow start up is not necessarily a sign of disaster, many conservative Republicans are skeptical that the group will ever get off the launch pad. The RMC, they argue, is too liberal for most Republicans and is better at generating media attention than grass-roots organizing. House minority whip Newt Gingrich (R) of Georgia flatly predicts, "The Republican Majority Coalition will fail."

L.A. Fire Puts Focus on Safety Procedures

APARTMENT dwellers should periodically stage their own fire drills. Residents should be sure fire doors are kept closed.

As mundane as these suggestions are, they can save lives in conflagrations – and are among the lessons to emerge in the wake of one of this city's worst fires in modern history.

Investigators are trying to pinpoint the cause of a blaze that swept through an apartment building near downtown Los Angeles Monday, killing at least 10 people, five of them children. Some 40 others were injured, mainly from smoke inhalation.

Many residents jumped to safety from the three-story building. Others scurried down firefighters' ladders. Dozens of families were left homeless by the blaze.

Questions were quick to surface. Did all smoke detectors work? Why was a fire door in one of the corridors apparently propped open? The doors are designed to block blazes. But apartment dwellers often keep them ajar for ventilation.

The open door allowed smoke and superheated gases to spread quickly. The fire did its damage in less than 30 minutes – the time it took firefighters to extinguish it.

The 40-unit building, though relatively new, didn't have a sprinkler system. It isn't required to, but firefighters are once again underscoring the importance of sprinklers, which they say would have saved lives in this case.

One other plea they are making: Apartment residents should review emergency evacuation procedures, especially with their children.

■ *Scott Armstrong reports from Los Angeles.*

A scandal in New Jersey?

Wall Street brokerage Merrill Lynch & Co. has suspended three senior municipal-bond executives after discovering "irregularities" in transactions conducted with a New Jersey bond consultant linked to a chief aide to New Jersey Gov. Jim Florio (D).

"Although our internal inquiry to date has uncovered no evidence of criminal conduct by any Merrill Lynch employees, the [federal] government's review of this matter is continuing," Merrill said in a statement. The apparent irregularities concern a 1992 transaction between Merrill Lynch and Armacon Securities, a Camden consulting firm controlled, in part, by Mr. Florio's chief of staff, Joseph Salema.

– Compiled by Max Boot

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the UN Security Council is expected to move quickly to adopt a detailed implementation strategy long in the works. Those who say they expect a "yes" vote include Mr. Vance, Lord Owen, Mr. Karadzic, and Serbia's President Slobodan Milosevic. Under the tightened UN sanctions, Mr. Milosevic has become a strong public supporter of the plan.

Yet the Bosnian Serb assembly rejected the Vance-Owen plan twice last month. If they vote it down again, as Serb hard-liners predict, Karadzic has said he will resign. Western air strikes against key Serbian and Bosnian Serb targets, including bridges and ammunition depots, could also ensue.

Many diplomats and outside analysts argue that the greatest challenge in the Balkans is not securing signatures but implementing the plan. In his May 3 endorsement of Karadzic's decision, UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said the next phase of the peace process will be "extremely difficult," – a "true test of the will of the parties to live at peace with one another."

IF the Bosnian Serbs accept the plan, the UN will be faced with its largest peacekeeping task ever. US and NATO sources estimate that from 50,000 to 75,000 troops will be needed to implement the plan. The US may provide as much as one-third of that total. Only 7,000 troops, mostly from Britain and France, are currently in Bosnia to protect the delivery of humanitarian aid.

The new peacekeepers will be authorized to use force to ensure compliance with the accord. Their duties will include monitoring the cease-fire, patrolling external and internal borders, securing neutral thoroughfares, guarding heavy weapons, and supervising the separation and withdrawal of forces to their designated provinces. A five-member boundary commission will be named by the secretary-general to settle border disputes. A special human rights monitoring commission will try to ensure that ethnic minorities in the various provinces are fairly treated.

The plan calls for a weak central government with representation from the three ethnic groups – Muslims, Serbs, and Croats. Each group will be assigned three provinces in which it is the majority population. The capital province of Sarajevo would be jointly administered. Elections are to be held within two years. City services, power and water supplies, and public order also must be restored.

Deciding 'just who gets what street and what house and what field' is likely to be painful.

– Prof. Wayne Vucinich

The process of deciding "just who gets what street and what house and what field" is likely to be a painful one, particularly for those who have lost relatives and friends, says Wayne Vucinich, a professor emeritus of history at Stanford University who grew up in what is now Bosnia-Herzegovina. "It will take a great deal of effort on the part of everybody to restore normal relations and to prevent outbreaks of violence."

Karadzic, meanwhile, who says he signed the accord to preserve the unity of "the Serb nation," has told his followers that the proposed province borders are only "provisional."

"With all the hatred that has been built up ... it's going to be very difficult for the local people to go through this healing process by themselves," says Mr. Nelson of Carnegie. "They're going to need a lot of outsiders."

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Commerce Secretary Ron Brown says government can do a lot to position Americans exporters. "Look at what our competitors are doing – we've got to play a different kind of role as government." His recent travel schedule includes a trip to Saudi Arabia where a "$10 billion aircraft purchase is up for grabs" and to the upcoming Paris Air Show where he will lead the American aerospace industry's delegation.

"Just as [French] President [François] Mitterrand and [German] Chancellor [Helmut] Kohl have no problem flying to the far reaches of the world" to clinch contracts for European nationals, Mr. Brown says, it is crucial to "put the weight of American government behind US companies."

Increased Commerce budget

If Clinton's fiscal plan wins congressional approval, Brown's department will receive the biggest budgetary increases. The administration plans to pour resources into national centers that transfer technology to small and medium-sized businesses.

"We've only scratched the surface on exports," Brown says, and with "cutting edge technology," the smaller US firms represent the nation's most dynamic export growth potential.

A senior US Treasury official suggests that if Washington revamped its aid policy, US manufacturers and service providers could greatly improve their position in markets now dominated by Japanese and European "tied aid" programs.

Tying US aid to the recipient country's purchase of American exports – such as selling power plants, telecommunications, water and sewage facilities – would push more US exports in India, Malaysia, and China and would reduce the $85 billion US trade deficit by $15 billion or more, he says.

At the very least, says trade expert Alan Tonelson, director of research at the Economic Policy Institute, the US government can beef up American exports by transforming diplomatic outposts that were once crucial during the cold war into efficient business centers abroad. He laments that very little has been done to ensure that US economic interests are represented around the world.

"Embassies are supposed to be the new front of commercial and trade opportunities," Mr. Tonelson says. Top on US Secretary of State Warren Christopher's agenda must be "how can I make life easier for [US Trade Representative] Mickey Kantor and Ron Brown," he says.

President Clinton's newly established National Economic Council, which works closely with the National Security Council, is examining whether links between foreign policy and commercial goals should be strengthened or disconnected.

Trade ties and foreign policy

One of the administration's most vexing issues is how to make the most of trade ties with China without compromising US standards. Washington is troubled by Beijing's abuse of prison labor, its crackdown on democracy seekers and other human rights violations, and its its nuclear military sales to volatile nations.

By June, Mr. Clinton must decide whether to suspend most-favored-nation status for China this year, and risk retaliation by China, where US exporters sold $8 billion in goods last year.

"Sanctions and embargoes only work if they're in concert with other countries," says Montana Democrat Max Baucus, chairman of the Senate Finance Subcommittee on International Trade. "Suspending MFN to China would mean we'd be the only country to do so."

Clinton describes another trade frontier, Russia, as "a huge country ... with enormous opportunities for Americans to create jobs and to earn income and to reap the benefits of trade." But while US business is anxious to shore up Russia's economy and gain a foothold in the Russian market, it is constrained by problems such as Russia's lack of a legal framework and the nation's continuing inability to pay for foreign imports.

While such foreign and financial policy debates continue, there is an even more fundamental concern: the American perspective.

"American companies can be much more aggressive – we Americans tend to be isolated," Mr. Baucus says. This view is a holdover from the "end of World War II, when we thought we were the center of the universe, with a vast ocean on either side."

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officials, is that the peace process made little progress with the hard-line Bosnian Serbs until President Clinton decided to push for military measures.

But with extensive peacekeeping forces already on the ground in the Balkans, Britain and France felt their troops would be at risk of retaliation if Western bombs start falling around Serb forces.

The two countries are presenting a united front to American entreaties. After meeting with Christopher on May 4, French Prime Minister Balladur flew to London to discuss Bosnia with British Prime Minister John Major. "It is desirable that our two countries have similar positions," Balladur said before his visit with Mr. Major.

As consultations continue, the West holds its breath to see if the UN peace plan will take effect.

NATO is forging ahead with plans for a large peacekeeping force. Between 60,000 and 75,000 troops would be needed to keep rival Balkans factions apart, military planners estimate. Extensive air cover also would be necessary. About one-third of the peacekeeping ground troops would come from the US. It is not yet clear which nations would provide the other two-thirds of the needed forces.

Plans call for a mix of airmobile and heavy-armored American units to be sent the short distance from their bases in Germany to the Balkans. US marines now afloat in the Mediterranean also may take part. "This shows the value of forward deployed forces," says a US official knowledgeable about peacekeeping plans.

The US military has resisted being drawn into peacekeeping in the former Yugoslavia, fearing it would become a Vietnam-like quagmire, and it still has some qualms about the mission.

The political objectives for a Balkans peacekeeping deployment remain vague, in the view of some in the Pentagon. Just stopping the fighting is one thing; rebuilding a shattered society to the point of self-reliance is another.

True, US peacekeeping worked in Somalia. But the security problem there was vastly simpler – and in any case, a UN force will remain there for months, perhaps years, to come.

Bosnia has stored up enough hatred and enough bullets to last a very long time. "The danger is they could hide their weapons and go home and wait us out," the US official says. "That's why the coalition of nations needs to keep the fire on them," through such measures as continuing to threaten air strikes.

The rules of engagement for NATO troops in the Balkans likely would allow them substantial leeway to protect themselves. Though direct combat operations theoretically would not be necessary, attacks by guerrilla fighters would be met with an aggressive return of fire.

The NATO deployment could begin within weeks. Seizure of key airfields and ports by special troops likely would be its initial stages. According to various press reports, US Special Forces troops are already on the ground in Bosnia mapping possible targets and key terrain objectives.

■ *Howard LaFranchi in Paris contributed to this report.*

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR®
An International Daily Newspaper
Founded in 1908 By Mary Baker Eddy

(ISSN 0882-7729) (ISSN 0896-551X World Edition) Published daily except Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays by The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, MA, USA, 02115. An activity of The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Massachusetts. Marcas Registradas.

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Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Second-class postage paid at Boston, MA, and at additional mailing offices. Commission Paritaire No. (France): 3125 USA. Revenue Canada G.S.T. Registration Number 126916436.

SUBSCRIPTIONS: In the U.S. and Canada, call toll-free 1-800-456-2220 or write The Christian Science Monitor, P.O. Box 11202, Des Moines, IA 50340-1202. In the UK call 081-543-9393 or write The Christian Science Monitor, Monitor House, 20 Beulah Road, London SW19 3SU England.

Subscription Rates: Daily edition (US only) – 1 year $156, single copy 75¢. Daily edition (UK only) – 1 year $333.30 (£206.65), single copy 80 pence. Daily edition (outside US and UK) – 1 year US$175. World Edition (weekly, not available in the US) – 1 year US$75, single copy US$1.50.

ADVERTISING: Information 617-450-2652, fax 617-450-2654; production 617-450-2647.

MAILING LISTS: Our subscriber list is at times used by carefully screened companies and organizations. To avoid such mailings, please send a written request to the Des Moines address.

REPRINT PERMISSION: Copyright Adm., One Norway St., Boston, MA 02115 (1-800-288-7090, X2026).

POSTMASTER/ADDRESS CHANGES: Send to The Christian Science Monitor, P.O. Box 11292, Des Moines, IA, 50340-1202. Phone 1-800-456-2220. Second-class postage paid at Boston, MA, and at additional mailing offices. The Christian Science Monitor, Monitor House, 20 Beulah Road, London SW19 3SU England. Phone: 081-543-9393.

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NUCLEAR ENERGY MEANS CLEANER AIR

INTERNATIONAL

Mideast Delegations Upbeat, But Palestinians at Home Worry

By Peter Ford
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

JERUSALEM

AS Palestinian and Israeli negotiators tackle core issues at the Washington peace talks, and voice optimism about their progress, some Palestinians watching from back home are less sanguine.

"It is not useful for the negotiators to create exaggerated and unrealistic expectations," argues Ghassan al-Khatib, who recently withdrew from the Palestinian peace team. "If nothing convincing comes out from this round, it will backfire."

"I don't think the Palestinians will have anything in their hands very soon," adds Zakaria al-Qaq, an analyst with the Israel-Palestine Center for Research and Information. "The Israelis have not gone to Washington to tell the Palestinians just to open their sacks and take everything."

But both the parties to the negotiations are sounding upbeat in unison, a first since the Middle East peace talks were launched in Madrid 18 months ago. "There has been a change for the better, there is no question about that," said Israeli spokesman Yossi Gal. Hanan Ashrawi, the Palestinians' spokeswoman, said Israel was "beginning to deal with issues in a more realistic way."

After five months without talks – following Israel's deportation of 415 suspected Palestinian extremists to south Lebanon last December and eight previous rounds of negotiations that yielded nothing tangible – there is a sense that substantive issues are at last on the table. The format of the negotiations alone indicates as much; the Palestinians have dropped their objections to splitting into working groups, which they had previously said were pointless because Israel's positions offered no grounds for detailed discussion.

Now, separate groups are discussing land and water questions, human rights, and the powers and geographic jurisdiction of the proposed Palestinian self-governing authority. Technical experts – including a Palestinian cartographer and a Bank of Israel official – were hastily flown to Washington to join the talks. These developments appear to reflect some movement in Israel's negotiating positions.

Israeli officials now appear willing to let a self-governing Palestinian authority pass legislation, rather than simply issue regulations, on matters that do not touch on security. This moves closer to the Palestinian demand that the authority should have the fullest possible powers in the planned five-year interim period of autonomy, before final status of the Israeli-occupied territories is determined.

Israel apparently has increased significantly the amount of land in the occupied territories that it is prepared to cede to Palestinian administration. Officials here say they envision the Palestinians running 60 percent of the territories, including all towns and villages except East Jerusalem. Israel would retain control over 10 percent, including Army bases and Jewish settlements, while the remaining land would be shared.

This still falls far short of Palestinian demands. "The geographical extension [of Palestinian jurisdiction] cannot be measured in acres," Dr. Khatib argues. "This is not a business deal, it's a homeland. Whatever we give up now will be the first step to giving it up in the final status negotiations."

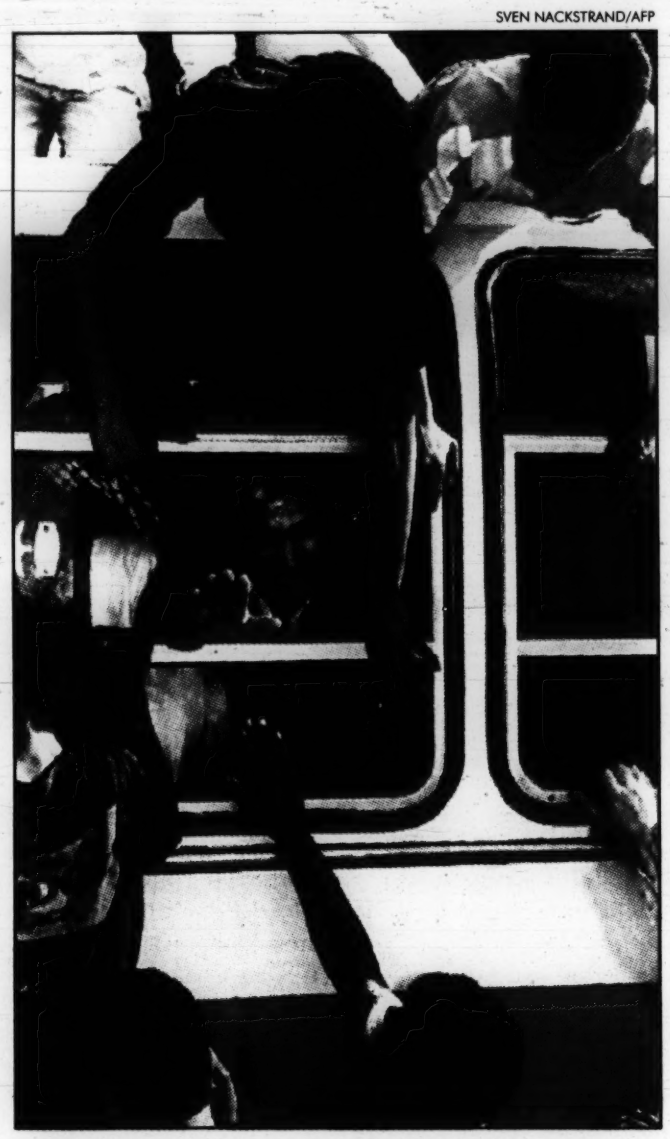
Only when Israel accepts the principle of placing all the occupied territories under Palestinian authority should the Palestinians offer to negotiate special interim status for settlements, military camps, and East Jerusalem, Khatib argues.

Palestinians here are worried that Israel refuses to discuss the status of Jerusalem and continues to expand settlements in the territories. Such concerns have helped undermine public Palestinian confidence in the negotiations, and in their delegation, especially since it returned to the talks without securing the return of the remaining 396 deportees, which they had earlier set as an essential condition.

Although the Palestinian delegation recommended boycotting the talks until the deportees were returned, it bowed to the orders of Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasser Arafat, who came under heavy Arab pressure to return to the negotiations.

Aware that support at home for the talks has eroded, the Palestinian delegation badly needs to make progress in this round. But having returned to the talks without achieving their demands, "they gave [Prime Minister Yitzhak] Rabin a signal that he can make progress not through Israeli concessions but through Palestinian concessions," Khatib says. "There probably will be progress, but it will be at our expense."

SVEN NACKSTRAND/AFP



THE RIDE HOME: *While many Palestinians remain exiled, Israel allowed some to return, such as Faisal Kanaan, who crossed the Allenby Bridge from Jordan April 30.*

Somalia Faces Tough Rebuilding Task as UN Takes Over

By Robert M. Press
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NAIROBI, KENYA

THE belated international rescue effort in Somalia worked reasonably well. But it may take rival Somali factions another five years to reach the kind of political stability necessary to avoid more war, anarchy, and starvation.

That was the assessment of Ethirajulu Krishnan, a senior official of the relief organization CARE, as the US handed the reins of the Somali relief and protection effort to the United Nations May 4.

Continued international commitment to help Somalia rebuild its society probably will depend on Somalis making progress toward political stability and organizing effective police and court systems, says Mr. Krishnan, CARE's Somalia director.

Krishnan, who is departing soon to take up a post in Lesotho, has been working on Somalia since September 1991, longer than most Western relief or diplomatic personnel. He helped negotiate the arrival in Mogadishu on May 3, 1992, of the first UN food relief ship to reach the Somali capital after fighting broke out in November 1991.

The US hand-over follows the presence for nearly five months of a coalition of United States-led Western and African troops that successfully halted most of the major looting of food relief supplies.

From the beginning of CARE's deliveries of large amounts of relief food to Somalia in 1992 until the US troops arrived in early December, "more than 50 percent of the resources did reach people," Krishnan says.

In a country 'fragmented ... like china breaking into pieces,' CARE official Ethirajulu Krishnan says, putting the pieces back together 'might take another five years.'

Before the foreign troops arrived, armed Somalis offering "protection" services against other armed Somalis demanded – and usually received – large payments from the UN and private relief agencies, including CARE, to ensure safe arrival of food and other relief items. Nevertheless, vast amounts of relief materials were looted, often through inside jobs, as in the town of Baidoa, according to many relief officials there.

After the troops arrived, Krishnan says, "virtually everything reached the people."

The international troops have collected large numbers of small arms and a much lesser quantity of heavy arms, such as the kind of artillery mounted atop vehicles known as "technicals."

But many small arms have been hidden. And larger weapons are either hidden or sitting in known sites under a disarmament agreement signed earlier this year by Somali factions. The UN faces the cumbersome task of monitoring such sites, as well as seizing weapons spotted elsewhere.

Under their peace agreement, factions are slowly trying to form a national council intended to serve as an interim government until elections can be held. But Somalis are a long way from coming together, and they continue blaming each other for lack of peace, Krishnan says.

"As long as the 'I am blameless' syndrome persists, the nation-building glue is not there," he said in an interview.

During the fighting between rival factions that followed the January 1991 overthrow of former Somali dictator Maj. Gen. Mohamed Siad Barre, "the country was fragmented ... like china breaking into pieces," Krishnan says. Putting the pieces back together "might take another five years," he adds.

On the relief front, Krishnan sees a "new phase" beginning – fewer emergency deliveries to the starving, now that starvation is minimal, and more aid for rebuilding the country.

An immediate need is to provide employment – with payment in cash or food – to several hundred thousand Somalis, including at least 200,000 in Mogadishu, he says.

They could rebuild schools, provide health and water services, and clean up garbage, he suggests. But that is too big a task for private relief agencies alone and must be done by foreign governments, through the UN, he says.

Finally, Krishnan says, despite the challenges ahead, "I'm kind of optimistic."

"Even with the despondent leadership of Somalia, I see silver linings of human decency" among Somalis. "If patience persists, maybe in a year or two, something will emerge" toward a long-term stability.

Distrust, Suspicion Mark Return of Guatemalans

As refugees end exile in Mexico, disputes with government continue

By David Clark Scott
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

VICTORIA 20 DE ENERO, GUATEMALA

A FIELD of marijuana flourishes in a jungle clearing. Everyone knows it is here. Nobody wants to deal with it.

A feud over eradicating the marijuana has been a major obstacle to the resettling of 2,500 Guatemalan war refugees who returned in January. Most fled to Mexico in the early 1980s during a counterinsurgency campaign, often described as the most brutal chapter in Central America's longest-running civil war.

Two years of peace talks and a pact guaranteeing safe passage and credits for land have encouraged some refugees to come home. Another 8,100 of the 45,000 refugees in Mexican camps are planning to return between May and August.

But this first camp, although benefiting from organizational skills learned in exile, has taken only halting steps toward self-sufficiency.

"The government and the community have been more inclined to power games than getting down to the practical steps of setting up the community," says Michel Gabauven, the head of the local office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, who is funding the return.

Little corn has been planted. The process of distributing land to the refugees has been delayed. Government food supplies are intermittent. Sanitary conditions in this remote area near the Mexican border are marginal.

At the heart of the land distribution problem is the marijuana dispute. The issue literally exploded in February when two repatriates set off a small bomb at the edge of the field. Observers say the bomb was not a mine set by the Army, as first claimed by the refugees, but simply an explosive device designed to scare people away from the crop.

Clearing issue

The refugees will not begin planting or move forward on distributing land until the government clears the area of marijuana and any other explosive devices.

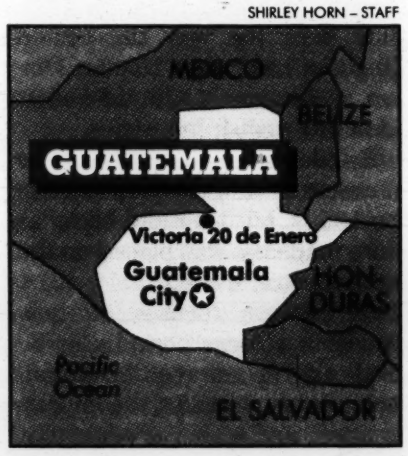
"We can't work in the fields if there are bombs there. Besides, the marijuana is on the best land for growing corn and beans," says Baltazar Gaspar Tomás, a community council member.

Government officials, including President Jorge Serrano Elías, promised over a month ago to destroy the illegal crop. But it is still here, and both sides are arguing over whose responsibility it is to rid the fields of the marijuana.

Late last month, unknown *campesinos* (peasants) were seen working in the field. "We believe the government or the Army is waiting so that the narco-traffickers will have time to harvest the crop," says Catalino Tejax, a member of the refugees' Permanent Commission here.

The marijuana issue exemplifies the distrust the two sides have for one another. The government and the Army suspect the refugees have been infiltrated by leftist rebels. The area where the repatriates have returned is just a few miles from the site of intense fighting between rebels and Army forces.

SHIRLEY HORN – STAFF



Another round of peace talks was set to begin on May 5 in Mexico City, but progress to date has been slow. Indeed, the conflict has escalated in recent months. Almost nightly, Army helicopters pass low over the camp, their lights off. "The adults see a rerun of the nightmare and terror that they fled from 10 years ago. They stand frozen, " says Sister Julie Cutter, a Roman Catholic nun working in the camp.

Recently, helicopters hovered over the camp, dropping anti-guerrilla propaganda leaflets.

"The purpose of the leaflets is to alert the people not to be tricked by the guerrillas," says Capt. Julio Alberto Yon Rivera, spokesman for the Guatemala armed forces. And, the helicopter overflights, he says, are necessary because the refugees are in a direct line between the main Army base and two strategic outposts on the frontline of the war.

Refugee leaders have asked that the flights be rerouted around the camp. But the request is not likely to be granted. "The Army has had a hard time resupplying its camps. They have to bring in provisions by air. If they come in during the day, the helicopters get shot," says an analyst with good Army contacts.

Organizers lauded

Despite the war-zone tension and political posturing that has caused resettlement delays, observers do credit the refugee leadership for being well-organized.

"They've done a fabulous job with the school. They have blackboards, desks, and notebooks. And it opened a little more than a month after arriving," says Sister Cutter. Indeed, the center of the camp is abuzz with the cacophony of some 770 children crammed into dozens of huts. Nearby, in a clear area amid a graveyard of felled trees, older children play a lively match of volleyball.

Later, over a meal of corn tortillas, refried beans, and maize tea, Mr. Gaspar explains: "The best part of being in Mexico was learning how to organize and learning first hand about democracy. In Mexico, the authorities told us we had to elect a representative of the group," he adds. "If you needed food, or transportation, or medical care, you went to your representative. He then arranged a solution with the Mexican authorities."

Another community leader, Santiago Antonio Martínez concurs. "In Mexico, we learned what our rights are and how to defend them. We don't like being called collaborators with the URNG [Guatemala National Revolutionary Union]. The problem is that the Army isn't used to people talking back to them and sticking up for their rights. We know now that our unity – plus international support – is a guarantee of safety. United we won't suffer what we suffered in the past."

But Captain Yon Rivera insists the international community is being duped into supporting a rebel strategy. "Why did the refugees choose this spot in all of Guatemala, which happens to be right on the war front? Why here where there is no electricity, no water, no road? Why do they insist on being so independent from the Guatemalan government? This is the start of 'liberated rebel territory' a state within a state."

...Guatemala City

The countries of Central America open their borders for an experiment in free trade – and taste the future

CENTRAL America is planning to throw a block party – of the free trade variety. The region has already received an invitation from Mexico to participate in borderless trade, beginning in 1996. But folks here can't wait.

Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras held a test run for two weeks last month. Normally officious and suspicious border personnel were told to smile and wave. Maybe they didn't go that far, but people and products flowed across borders unimpeded.

"It was like driving from Texas to New York. You didn't need a passport. We've had a taste of what's to come," says Federico Polá, an official of Guatemala's largest business organization.

After the experiment, Nicaraguan President Violeta Barrios de Chamorro signed on to the regional trading bloc's organizing committee. The idea is catching on here for several reasons.

Foremost, the experiment is seen as an act of economic self-preservation. South America, North America, and Europe all are forming trading blocs. The former president of Ecuador, Rodrigo Borja Cevallos, made headlines on a visit here last week with his comment: "I don't see any other option. We integrate or we commit economic suicide."

If that is true for Ecuador, it is doubly so for the tiny nations of Central America. The cold war attention (and international aid) so lavishly bestowed on this region in the 1980s is fading away. The combined population of Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and El Salvador is a mere 24 million. Economic production is a dribble compared to Mexico. But the hope is that, united, these nations might produce goods at lower costs by developing economies of scale, and perhaps gain a bit of political leverage when the time comes to negotiate free-trade ties with northern and southern neighbors.

Also for the first time in more than a decade, these nations here are walking down similar political and economic paths. Honduras, Nicaragua, and El Salvador have closed the chapter on their civil wars. Guatemala is making its first serious attempt at peace talks in 30 years. The presidents' economic philosophies and challenges are similar. The four nations met recently to devise a common strategy to combat low coffee prices.

Some business people paint a vision of a region united with "one flag, one currency, one judicial system, and the free flow of capital and goods."

Of course, this has been tried before and it flopped. The same three nations got the ball rolling for a Central American common market in the late '50s and early '60s. But it shattered on the distrust created by the regional wars, political turmoil, and economic decline of the '70s and '80s.

Some locals don't want to attend this revived regional dance. Panama has not decided if it wants to unite with northern or southern neighbors. Its relatively undeveloped industrial sector is not sure it can compete in a free trade environment. Costa Rica has its nose in the air, say Guatemalans; it will negotiate its own free trade pacts directly with Mexico and the United States. What Costa Ricans worry about is opening their doors to mass migration from their poorer neighbors. A sudden influx would not only ruin the local economy, Costa Ricans say; it could bankrupt their highly developed education and social services system.

Within every country are those who question the return to past practices that failed. If economic integration means further concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, and little attention is paid to growing ranks of the poor, then the turmoil that doomed economic integration the first time may eventually throw cold water on this block party as well.

– David Clark Scott

INDEX OF LEADING INDICATORS DROPS 1 PERCENT

WASHINGTON

■ The government's chief economic forecasting gauge fell 1 percent in March, the steepest decline since the middle of the recession more than two years ago, the Commerce Department said May 4.

The decrease followed a modest 0.5 percent increase in February and a slight 0.1 percent decline in January. The index is designed to predict economic activity six to nine months in advance.

Analysts do not expect the economy to slip back into recession this year. Last week, the department reported first quarter GDP growth at 1.8 percent.

CREDIT UNIONS GREW IN '92

WAKEFIELD, MASS.

■ The credit union industry had steady asset growth and improved profitability in 1992, according to analysis conducted by Veribanc Inc.

Using the National Credit Union Administration's data, Veribanc reported that the number of credit unions with significant financial difficulties fell to less than 3 percent of the industry by Dec. 31.

ANTI-DUMPING MEASURES APPEAR TO HELP STEEL INDUSTRY

WASHINGTON

■ Steel imports fell sharply in February. Most of the drop occurred in products that are the subject of anti-dumping and countervailing-duty suits filed by United States steelmakers, reports the American Iron and Steel Institute (AISI).

Milton Deaner, AISI's president, said that although this was one month's number, "to the extent that the reduction reflects foreign producers' beginning to limit exports of dumped and subsidized steel to this market, it is welcome."

EMPLOYEES MAKE FEWER CLAIMS FOR MORE MONEY

NEW YORK

■ Despite a drop in the number of workers' compensation claims, costs per claim have risen dramatically. From 1989 to 1991 the average number of workers' compensation claims per 100 employees fell from 10.9 to 10.1. However, the average cost per claim increased 35 percent.

Medical expenses were cited as a leading factor in driving up costs, according to a survey of 733 companies by Johnson & Higgins, an independent insurance broker.

ECONOMY

Swedes agree state needs to scale back welfare, but it's hard to walk away from those legendary benefits

Sweden Trims Vaunted Safety Net

By Howard LaFranchi
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

STOCKHOLM

AT a recent rally outside Sweden's parliament building, protesters opposing billions of dollars worth of planned cuts in Sweden's public spending held up signs with the word "welfare" under a cross.

Debate in Sweden is raging over whether the 81 billion krona ($11 billion) in budget cuts proposed April 22 by the conservative government of Prime Minister Carl Bildt will consign the country's cradle-to-grave welfare state to the graveyard.

Much of the cutting, which is part of an effort to reduce a budget deficit that in recent years has ballooned to more than 13 percent of gross national product (GNP), will reduce benefits that Swedes have come to consider a right. Unemployment and sick leave benefits, parental leave and pensions, among the most generous in the world, are all set to fall. Individuals will find medical and dental care and other services becoming more expensive.

Along with its previous welfare reductions, the Bildt government's cuts will amount to more than 10 percent of GNP. The changes may seem drastic to a population that since World War II has learned to rely on a very high safety net. Yet most officials and observers here believe the reductions will simply bring the system in line with more common Western European standards.

The real revolution for Sweden, the observers say, is the change in the public's view of the role of government that stands behind not just the welfare-state reform, but wide-ranging deregulation and privatization initiatives affecting everything from banking and food distribution to health care, postal delivery, and telecommunications.

"Many of the problems we are facing are actually the same ones the Eastern European governments are having to tackle," says Olof Ehrenkrona, director of policy planning in the prime minister's office. "The great difference is that we have a well-functioning private sector, but we have the same need to cut expenditures by reducing the role and size of the state."

Despite the protests of trade unions and public service agencies, the shift in government philosophy, if not the cuts themselves, meets with approval, especially among the young.

"It was the young people who brought the Bildt government to power," says Ingemar Dorfer, an adviser at the Foreign Ministry. "They travel freely to Europe and know very well the US, and they want a country where more value is placed on the individual's initiative."

Even ardent supporters of the high social benefits accept that they were costing too much. "We had to accept that some of the social services were too high, particularly when they became disincentives to labor supply, productivity, and savings in the economy," says Gunnar Wetterberg, assistant undersecretary with the Finance Ministry and a Social Democratic economist. "If we act now, we should be able to get out of our predicament with a little less social protection, but more responsibility for the people themselves."

That "predicament" is a staggering economy where, besides the skyrocketing public deficit, once-full employment has reversed to become 7.5 percent unemployment. More worrisome, industrial employment has fallen by nearly one-third since 1989. The krona was floated against other European currencies in November, losing much of its value. And many of the country's banks teeter on the brink of failure.

Against this backdrop, an independent commission headed by economist Assar Lindbeck in March announced a 113-point reform plan that covers not just economic measures but the political system and education.

"We are in a very deep crisis, and the worst lies ahead of us," Professor Lindbeck said in unveiling the commission's report. For a country that thought it was a model for the world, his words came as a shock. Now all anyone talks about, it seems, is "the crisis."

But observers here say this "crisis" mentality has forced Swedes to take a hard look at their future. "One of the very basic questions we are having to answer is whether Sweden will remain an advanced country or slide back the way the United Kingdom has," says Lennart Olsson, an economist with the Federation of Swedish Industries.

Sweden was ahead of Europe in research and development in the 1960s, but later slid back "as more emphasis was placed on the public sector," he says.

Mr. Olsson focuses on how Sweden's reform period can be used to encourage invention, technology transfer, company creation, and higher productivity. He says reforms that have cut taxes and shifted some of the tax burden from production to consumption are on the right track, as are initiatives to encourage more applied research.

But concern abounds that social reforms may go too far. Mr. Wetterberg notes, for example, that Sweden has extremely low poverty among single mothers and pensioners compared to elsewhere in Europe. And Swedish women on average earn 90 percent of what men earn. But how, he wonders, will cuts in spending and public jobs affect this?

Others say there is still too little respect for individual enterprise. Sven Karlsson, a Stockholm homebuilder, says he cannot get the permits to build the houses people want because local authorities have hundreds of empty apartments to fill – apartments Mr. Karlsson says the Swedes no longer want.

"There is still this tendency for government to take care of everything and everybody," he says, "even when we should have learned that it doesn't work."

But no one ever thought that the depth of Sweden's "crisis" would lead the state to give up its role in regulating society. Even the conservative government is considering a law to require fathers to take at least one month of parental leave.

But the point is not some dewy eyed attempt to foster father-child bonding. Rather, with more than 80 percent of women in the workforce, studies found that the year-long leave cut into female workers' productivity. And higher productivity is something even the conservative government would like to legislate.

Deregulation Gives Rise to 'Taxi Problem'

STOCKHOLM

SWEDEN'S privatization process, affecting everything from banking to car inspections and day care, is hitting some rough spots and shows that the efficient, socialist-minded Swedes are not above a little greed.

Taxis have been deregulated, which means more taxis and more competition. But lower fares? Not always. The unsuspecting visitor arriving at the airport can find himself paying 500 Swedish krona ($70) or more for the ride into the city. The meter is used, and it all looks official.

But many cabs in Stockholm sport signs offering the same ride for 250 krona, and hotels know to get the best-priced cabs for their guests.

The uncustomary cowboy capitalism has Swedish officials wincing and promising to protect visitors. What is widely referred to as "the taxi problem" has also become a touchstone by which Sweden's reform is being judged by advocates and critics of the deregulation process.

"It's one example of the difficulties that can arise when you go ahead with deregulation without studying the effect it's going to have," says Gunnar Wetterberg, an assistant undersecretary at the Ministry of Finance and a Social Democratic economist. "It can end up more costly than before."

Such criticism ignores the fact that the 250 krona fare is lower than the old standard price, counters Olof Ehrenkrona, director of planning in Conservative Prime Minister Carl Bildt's office. "And we never claimed there wouldn't be difficulties," he says, adding that the government is trying to get airlines to advise their arriving passengers on taxi fares.

That appeals as a private-enterprise solution. But if the wild fare discrepancies continue, some critics say the government is going to have to step in. And regulation could again become the norm.

– H. L.

NEAL J. MENSCHEL – STAFF

FINANCIAL DISTRICT, LONDON: *Positive economic growth is putting some bustle back in the British economy.*

Small, Cheap Cameras Bring a Revolution To TV Journalism

By Fred Langan
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

TORONTO

TELEVISION, and especially television news, is set for a revolution.

Industry iconoclasts predict that nightly network news will soon be a thing of the past. Big networks will stick to magazine shows such as 60 Minutes and 20/20, they say.

Television news will be delivered by local stations. Instead of needing all the high-priced equipment of the past, local stations will be able to get the job done about as simply as a local newspaper does it: One reporter carrying a lightweight camera.

Television stations will be able to be set up for a fraction of the cost through smaller, cheaper cameras, editing equipment, and a whole range of gear.

"The cost alone beats the old way of doing things by a factor of 100 to 1," says Desmond Smith, a Toronto television entrepreneur.

Some stations already operate in the Hi-8 format, the same one people use for home videos. This type of station deals only in news, not game shows or sitcoms. New York One, a Manhattan-based TV station, is built on the new miniature, low-cost technology.

"Survival is something that comes up every decade as the business reforms itself," Mr. Smith says. He has worked for CBS and ABC from Moscow to Vietnam. These days he is running Newsco, which is trying to get a license to run a 24-hour TV news service in Toronto.

Smaller and cheaper

"Miniaturization of telecommunications equipment is what we're talking about," says Peter Herford, a Columbia University journalism professor. "Things are not just getting smaller, they're also getting less expensive."

"Until now if you wanted to work in television you had to associate yourself with a large organization, one of the big networks," says Michael Rosenblum who is a kind of guru of Hi-8 video. Mr. Rosenblum teaches "Video Journalism" at Columbia. He is also a television reporter who has produced dozens of pieces for the big networks, using a small Hi-8 camcorder.

Smith explains that TV news started with unwieldy 35mm cameras used in Hollywood movies. Programs such as "See It Now" with Edward R. Murrow were shot on 35mm. "It was what they used to call the 'One Ton Pencil,' " he says.

Today the same program could be shot on an upscale version of the common camcorder. The equipment used by television networks – Betacam professional cameras – costs up to $70,000. Professional Hi-8 equipment costs as little as $3,000.

Messrs. Herford and Rosenblum were in Toronto recently to give a series of seminars on the Hi-8 revolution. In the audience were experienced reporters, producers, and camera crews from major television networks.

"Today for a relatively small investment you can buy a Hi-8 camera, and produce your own pieces independent of the networks," Rosenblum told them. Many didn't like what they heard. Some walked out.

Shrinking work crews

Smith says that one reporter with a camera will replace the cameraman, soundman, producer, and reporter team that now shows up on the doorstep for a TV shoot. "Canadians and Americans have always got their news from local sources," Smith says. "Local news is going to break wide open with dozens of 24-hour news services such as New York One and Orange County's (Calif.) round-the-clock cable news."

The backers of the proposed Toronto station say it will be a moneymaker. "The new station can be set up for $10 million, roughly the cost of a radio station," says one of the people involved. He cannot be identified because he is at a major network.

The big change is that reporters do their own shooting. There are no expensive, unionized crews. New York One has 20 reporters, each with a camera. New talent is also paid a lot less than local and network TV stars.

"The salaries will be $25,000 to $40,000 instead of $80,000 and higher," predicts the backer of the Toronto station.

The new studios are very automated. Transmission doesn't involve huge towers; it is piped into the cable system. "It's the most exciting development since color TV or the invention of video tape," Smith says. "It's cheaper to create a city-sized television newsroom than to publish a city newspaper."

Cautious Analysts Temper Major's Economic Tidings

By Alexander MacLeod
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

LONDON

EVEN before government statistics confirmed the fact, the happy sound of cash registers was relaying the message: Britain's longest recession since the 1930s was over at last.

But rejoicing is being tempered by warnings from economists and captains of industry that the recovery may be short-lived. Official confirmation of the "green shoots" of recovery came in the form of Treasury data showing that in the last 12 months, economic growth was a real 0.6 percent. The figures supported the views of retailers who reported their best sales figures since 1989.

The glad tidings enabled John Major, the prime minister, to say that "the pendulum is swinging towards growth, and industry is facing unparalleled opportunities." Although analysts generally endorse Mr. Major's claim that the recession is over, most think the recovery is fragile.

Some of the sharpest warnings have come from business leaders who are imploring Major and his ministers to safeguard them against another recession. Peter Morgan, director general of the influential Institute of Directors (IOD), said on April 27 that there was a risk of Britain reentering the "dreary pattern of economic decline" unless government and industry work more closely together.

Nigel Pain of the National Institute of Economic and Social Research supported Mr. Morgan's cautious view: "So far, so good. But the medium-term prospect is clouded, and much will depend on the policies the government follows."

Many economists hold that Norman Lamont, chancellor of the exchequer, must take early steps to slash the £50 billion ($78.7 billion) deficit (9 percent of gross domestic product) projected in his March 16 budget. Others say Mr. Lamont, in addition to cutting public spending, will have to order another increase in taxes beyond his March budget's £17.5 billion ($27.5 billion) hike if public sector borrowing is to be brought under control. Ruth Lea, chief economist in London of Mitsubishi Bank, said Lamont would be "wise to plan for possible additional tax measures" when he delivers his next budget in the autumn. "Britain's fiscal position is more perilous than it has ever been in peacetime," wrote The London Times.

As Major and Lamont try to chart a course of sustained recovery, one of the heaviest loads is the country's more than 3 million unemployed. John Philpott of the Employment Policy Institute puts the combined cost of falling output, lost tax revenue, and soaring welfare benefits resulting from unemployment at between £50 billion and £60 billion. The government is encouraged by the fact that after 33 months of increases, unemployment in February and March fell by a total of 51,000.

Recovery in Britain will also depend heavily on what happens elsewhere in Europe.

In its latest quarterly survey, the Confederation of British Industry (CBI) said economic downturns in Germany and France (both important export markets) were likely to continue.

British exports have risen in the past four months, partly because of the forced devaluation of the pound last September. But the CBI warned that investment and employment in manufacturing were continuing to fall.

"We can't yet be fully confident that the economy is on a firmly upward path," said Sir David Lees, chairman of the CBI's economic affairs committee.

The IOD's message was unexpectedly somber, and has served to check the government's attempts to project a mood of optimism. Morgan's view, widely shared by 2,000 delegates to an annual conference in London, is that the benefits of earlier economic recoveries have been squandered. The "party for business," Morgan said, had been guilty of "macroeconomic mismanagement" of a high order.

SIR Alistair Grant, chairman of the Argyll Group of food retailers, told the conference that the government had made two fundamental errors: "too strong a foot on the accelerator in the late 1980s and too savage a foot on the brakes in the early 1990s."

Major has his own political reasons for stressing evidence that the recession is history. The Conservatives are facing a by-election on May 6. Regardless of political calculations, the government faces an uphill struggle if it is to recapture the support of industrial leaders.

The International Monetary Fund reported on April 26 that Britain must increase taxes or make deep cuts in public spending if the growing deficit is to be curbed. The IMF also cast doubt on the government's ability to meet inflationary targets next year and warned against further cuts in interest rates.

BALDEV/SYGMA

OMNIPRESENT FORCE: *Although all of Sri Lanka's combatants have been charged with rights abuses, those by government troops have been worst, experts say. At least 12,000 people were summarily killed in the 1980s.*

Sri Lankans Address World's Worst Human Rights Record

COLOMBO, SRI LANKA

TALK about human rights violations in Sri Lanka, and a whole smorgasbord of abuse arises.

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the separatist guerrilla group, are responsible for countless deaths, including the assassination of former Indian prime minister Rajiv Gandhi in 1991 and, most probably, the killing of President Ranasinghe Premadasa last Saturday.

The Marxist, pro-Sinhalese Janata Vimukti Peramuna, or JVP, led a reign of terror in the south from 1987 to 1989, killing anyone it deemed an enemy.

A regiment of 45,000 Indian soldiers, who controlled the north and east provinces from 1987 to 1990 in a vain attempt to fight the Tigers, were responsible for many violations. More people were killed, injured, or dislocated by battles among competing Tamil separatist groups.

But all these pale in comparison to the state terror unleashed by the Sri Lankan government under Premadasa and his predecessor, J. R. Jayewardene.

In 1992 the United Nations Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances reported that at least 12,000 people had been killed by the Army, police, and death squads since 1983 – "by far" the highest number recorded in any country, according to the report. Those figures are considered conservative. A European Community group put the figure at 60,000.

Most of the disappearances occurred in 1988 and 1989 during the government's fight against the JVP. Every day young men's bodies were found on the beaches of the south, in the rivers inland, or burned on town squares. Analysts say the government took a shotgun approach, killing any youth suspected of involvement with the JVP. The opposition Sri Lanka Freedom Party charges that the government also killed hundreds of political rivals during the JVP pogrom – and many Sri Lankans believe the charge.

After 1989, under pressure from Western aid donors, the government allowed human rights groups to visit and subsequently accepted a large number of their recommendations, especially changes in the country's emergency regulations.

"IT was essential that the government worry about its image," says Deepika Udagama, director of the Centre for the Study of Human Rights at the University of Colombo. "We're talking about a massive number of extra-judicial executions and disappearances." This should help curb future abuses, although the main threat to the government died with the JVP.

Analysts and human rights workers say the exact human toll will probably never be tallied. And no one knows the psychological impact of such widespread terror on a small country. "Every family has somebody who has disappeared," says Ms. Udagama.

– A. S.

Once seen as an island paradise, the South Asian na
had literacy, relative prosperity, and free elections g
for it. Then politicians began to play the ethnic ca

Sri Lanka's Decade of
Is a Lesson for Democ

By Anthony Spaeth
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

COLOMBO, SRI LANKA

IMAGINE an island nation with a healthy, literate populace, a Western-style democracy that has functioned for 46 years, a religion advocating nonviolence, and an economy that is one of the third world's most open. Add beaches, palm trees, and a booming tourist industry.

Or picture an island nation entering its 11th year of ethnic conflict with one of the worst human rights records in the world – a country where people say their political system is so violent it scares them.

Both images describe Sri Lanka, an island nation that for most of its history struck visitors as a tropical paradise. But in 1983, the country erupted in ethnic violence that has yet to cease.

In the late 1980s, thousands of Sri Lankans "disappeared," giving the government of President Ranasinghe Premadasa a reputation for blatant brutality. On May 1, Premadasa himself was assassinated by an unidentified assailant, only eight days after the murder of one of his chief political rivals.

Sri Lanka is small, but it has problems that are sizeable as well as instructive in the post-cold-war era. It is a country that accomplished many of the things the Western world considers preventions against social and ethnic unrest. It rejected a planned economy 16 years ago. It has educated its people, a stupendous achievement in South Asia. Since 1947, elections have been fair and regular, with one exception in 1982.

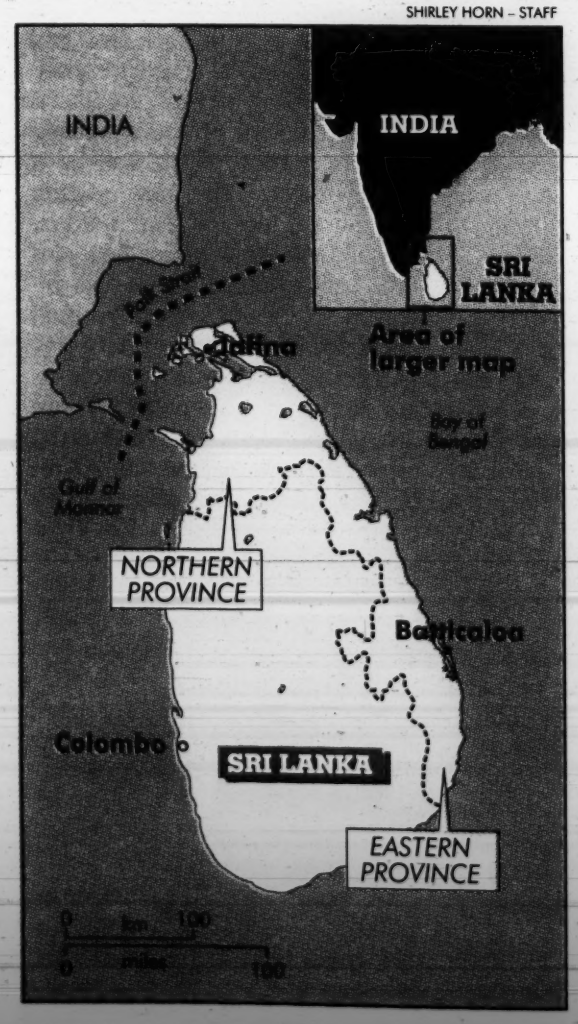
If these accomplishments have failed Sri Lanka, how can they bring stability to the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe, the former Soviet states, or even India, where rising Hindu nationalism presages a difficult future?

The answers say a lot about ethnic hatred – not how deep-rooted it is but how it can be created by politicians searching for votes. Sri Lanka is an example of how democracy can fuel ethnic flames, not douse them.

In India's shadow

Sri Lanka, formerly known as Ceylon, is a poor, small country – population 17 million – with stunning tropical beauty, an ancient civilization, and a special place in the history of religion. Buddhism died out in India, the land of its birth, but by the 1st century BC was flourishing in Sri Lanka. From there, the Theravada strain of Buddhism spread to Thailand, Indochina, and Indonesia.

SHIRLEY HORN – STAFF



For most of its history, the island was perceived as a miniature India with vastly fewer problems. The different ethnic groups – Sinhalese, Tamils, mixed-blood Europeans, Malays, and the aboriginal Veddahs – lived in relative peace, as did the overlapping religious groups: Buddhists, Hindus, Muslims, and Christians.

But if Sri Lanka lacked India's profound social and ethnic problems, it also lacked the leadership of Mohandas Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. The country barely had a freedom struggle; it piggybacked on India's. And while India's Congress Party worked at a new Indian identity embracing all groups, Sri Lanka didn't give the issue much thought.

That is until 1955, when Oxford-educated politician S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike broke away from the ruling United National Party (UNP) saying he wanted to make Sinhalese, the language of the 74 percent ethnic majority, the official language. Such a move effectively blocked the country's English-speaking Tamils – 13 percent of the population– from treasured government jobs.

In response, the UNP adopted an even stronger pro-Sinhalese policy. In a few months, the entire ruling elite of the country had abandoned liberal secularism in favor of vote-winning pro-Sinhalese policies.

Bandaranaike won power in 1956, and since then power has shuttled back and forth between his Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SFLP) – led by his widow Sirimavo since his 1959 assassination by a Buddhist monk – and the UNP. The main electoral strategy of both parties has been to appeal for Sinhalese votes through anti-Tamil rhetoric or policies.

The strategy proved

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# of Strife

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powerful despite Sri Lanka's 88 percent literacy rate. Politicians wooed voters with a siren song of Sinhalese purity and vulnerability. They said the Sinhalese were Aryans – descended from north Indian royalty – and the minority Tamils were dark-skinned Dravidian usurpers.

They rewrote history curricula to include national myths, including the Buddha's three visits to the island (which historians doubt). They preached that the Sinhalese were an endangered race: One day, they said, the Tamils in Sri Lanka would join forces with their families on the Indian mainland to overrun the island of the Buddha.

The strategy polarized the Sinhalese and Tamils, who had lived together peacefully for centuries.

The Tamils agitated for autonomy, then an independent homeland. In July 1983, ethnic tension turned into violence, when Sinhalese killed 3,000 Tamils nationwide. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam fought for an independent homeland throughout the 1980s.

In 1987, Sri Lanka signed a deal with India that landed thousands of the latter's troops to fight the Tigers. The Sinhalese thought their national nightmare had come true: an invasion from the north. They threw their support behind the shadowy, insurrectionist Janata Vimukti Peramuna (JVP), which nearly toppled the government.

President Premadasa dispatched government hit squads to wipe out the JVP by night. Tens of thousands of young Sri Lankans were killed summarily, many of them innocent. The JVP leader was executed in 1989, ending the insurrection.

A stalemate lingers

Today, tourists are back on the beaches in near-record numbers, and other parts of the economy are robust. The government's fight against the Tigers in the north and east is stalemated. Its promise to give political autonomy to the Tamil provinces has been stalled for months.

JOHN COLMEY

FISHERMEN STOW THEIR NETS: *The late President Ranasinghe Premadasa is credited with reforming the socialist economy and raising rural employment.*

But the political uncertainties unleashed by the killing of Premadasa could make a dramatic dent in the economy. Many think the country has been too traumatized by the ethnic hatred and the political violence to recover any time soon.

"Fear is all pervasive," says a university professor in Colombo, the country's capital. "It is in every strata of society, especially the fear to speak out."

A merchant in Nuwara Eliya agrees: "People aren't free here anymore, not since 1988 and 1989. If the government doesn't like me, it can kill me. Is it a democracy if you can't speak out?"

Much of the fear centered around Premadasa, who ordered the reign of terror in 1988 and 1989. (In addition, many Sri Lankans suspect that the April 24 killing of his rival, Lalith Athulathmudali, was ordered by his government.)

It is too soon to say if Premadasa's party might rebound under new leadership, or whether the country is entering an entirely new era, in which neither the UNP nor the SLFP can expect to govern.

All that is clear is that the people are rattled and uncertain.

"The people are tired of having their boys come back in body bags," says a Western diplomat here. "They're just worn out."

At Least News on the Business Page Is Good

COLOMBO, SRI LANKA

THE news from Sri Lanka is almost always bad: leaders assassinated, soldiers ambushed, bombs exploding in buses. Except news on the economy, which is remarkably positive after 10 debilitating years of ethnic conflict.

"They're doing the right things here," says a Western diplomat. "If they continue, they might move into really rapid growth."

Much of the credit goes to the late president, Ranasinghe Premadasa, who liberalized an economy that had been among the most closed in the third world. Tariffs were slashed and controls on foreign exchange were lifted. The government is privatizing the state sector. Tourism is booming: 394,000 visitors in 1992, nearly as many as before the ethnic violence began in 1983. Foreign investment is also picking up: 23.24 billion rupees ($505 million) in 1992, up 75 percent from 1991.

Reforming a planned economy has brought tourists and investment back to Sri Lanka, despite ethnic conflict.

Sri Lanka remains one of the world's main tea exporters, despite a drought last year. And Sri Lankans working abroad – as domestics, construction workers, and sailors – sent home $110 million in 1992. GDP grew more than 4 percent last year.

Partly, Sri Lanka has followed the prescriptions of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund by making its markets more open and disciplined. But politics also govern the economy.

Sri Lankan politics has been dominated since the 1950s by two parties, the ruling United National Party and the Sri Lankan Freedom Party of Sirimavo Bandaranaike. When Ms. Bandaranaike last led the country, as prime minister from 1970 to 1977, she ran a planned economy well remembered for shortages, rationing, and plummeting living standards. In the 1988 presidential campaign, Premadasa constantly harped on Bandaranaike's economic record. He continued to thump this theme, in anticipation of a race for reelection, until the day he was killed.

In the short run, the direction of the economy will probably not change as a result of Premadasa's death. But the pace of reforms will undoubtedly slow. Premadasa was an economic dynamo, which led to anomalous situations for a leader who praised the virtues of laissez faire. To boost rural employment, in 1992 he announced that 200 new garment factories should be built in remote areas. Manufacturers were reluctant because they prefer to build factories close to Colombo. So Premadasa declared that export quotas for the US and European markets – which the government controls – would go to companies participating in the scheme. Sixty factories have opened.

Analysts are unsure if the scheme is an example of lively economic promotion by the government or government control that should be avoided.

How Premadasa's successor will run the economy is uncertain. "This government is still in the early throes of reforming its economy," says the diplomat. "And there is an opposition party that has done awful things economically in the past. You can't rule out their coming to power."

– A. S.

SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

Mt. Wilson Scans The Skies Again

Observatory's scopes, with new technology to sharpen focus, are taken out of mothballs

By Scott Armstrong
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

MT. WILSON, CALIF.

INSIDE the great cathedral dome of the 100-inch Hooker telescope here sits a cane chair illuminated by a floodlight.

It is the place where Edwin Hubble, dressed in heavy tweeds of the day, sat many nights in the 1920s and 1930s as he made 20th-century astronomy's greatest discovery: the existence of an expanding universe.

Since the mid-1980s, the 100-ton instrument, eclipsed by other telescopes and inhibited by light pollution from nearby Los Angeles, has been in mothballs – a mountain-top memorial to epiphanies of astronomy past.

Now this once-great instrument made of French wine-bottle glass is about to be turned on again. The Hooker's "second light," expected to begin next month, is part of a quiet rebirth of what was once the world's premier astronomical facility.

Aided by new technology and an expanded research program, Mt. Wilson Observatory appears poised to play a significant role in science again.

Telescopes on this crown of pine and black oak in the San Gabriel Mountains are expanding their study of the enigmas of the sun and galaxy, helping in the search for intelligent life in the universe, and will soon beam planetary images into school classrooms.

Perhaps most important, the site has become a prime proving ground for an emerging technology that promises to revolutionize ground-based astronomy.

Sitting at a picnic table overlooking Los Angeles sprawling like a milky nebula below, Robert Jastrow, director of the institute that manages the observatory, says: "I think with all the things going for it, Mt. Wilson will regain its place among the leading observatories of the world."

From this picnic-table perch, it is easy to see why Mt. Wilson has harbored both potential and problems as a star-gazing site. On this day, as on most, a pot lid of smog extends over the city below. The air is trapped by an inversion layer, which is bad for earthlings but good for those looking heavenward. The inversion layer suppresses turbulence over the mountaintop, making 5,800-foot Mt. Wilson probably the best viewing peak in North America.

It was this stability of air that prompted George Ellery Hale and other early astronomers to haul, first by mule train and later by wheezing truck, a 60-inch telescope to the site in 1908 followed by the mountain's signature instrument, the 100-inch, in 1917.

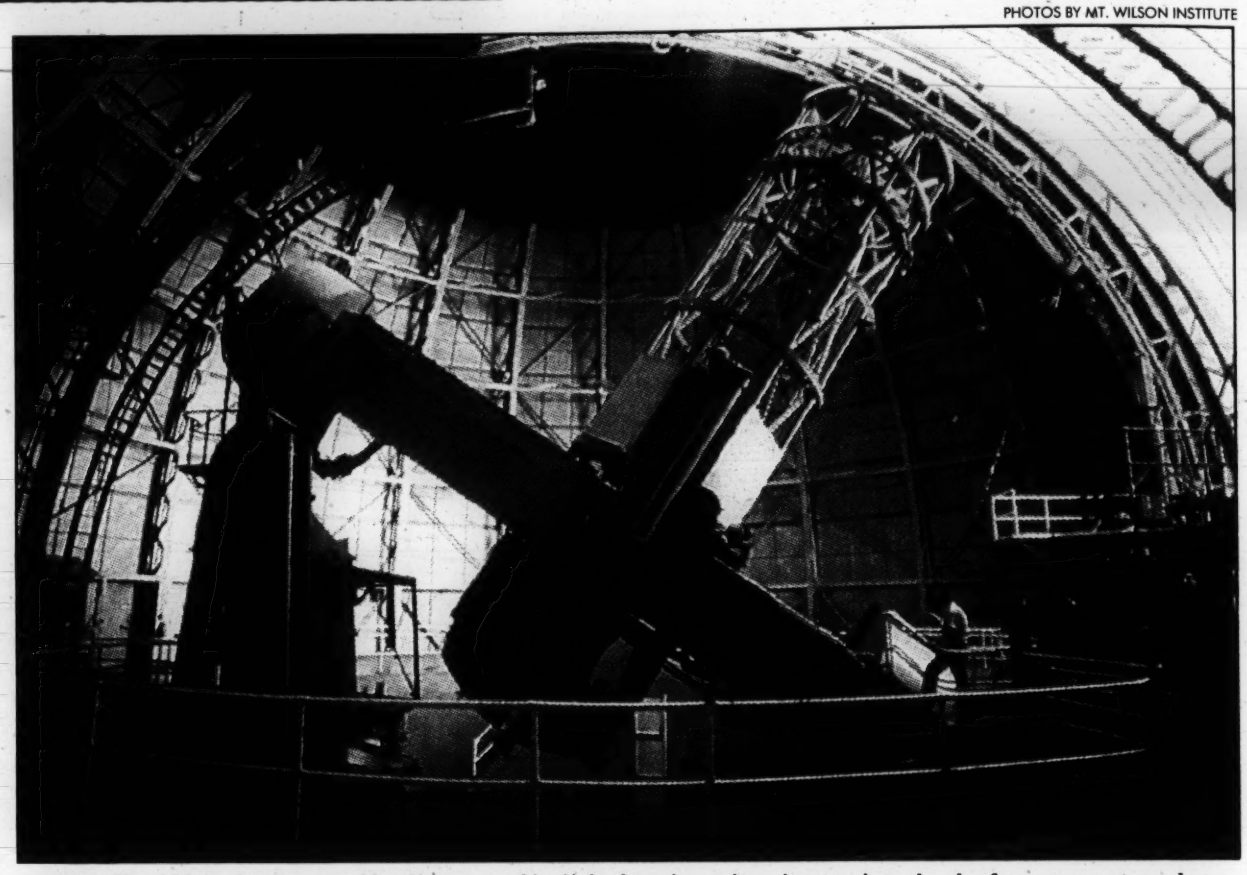
Growing urban glare

Over time, Los Angeles began to grow out below into something more than a thousand points of light. The glare hampered the ability of researchers to view faint objects deep in space, the prime focus of modern astronomy.

While the observatory remained an important place to study the sun and brighter stars and objects within our own galaxy, much of the interest – and money – in the field has gone into probing galaxies and objects at immense distances from Earth.

Thus most of today's big new telescopes peer up from remote locations, notably the Mauna Kea volcano in Hawaii and mountains in northern Chile. Indeed, Mt. Wilson probably reached its nadir in 1984 when the Carnegie Institution, its owner and prime patron since early this century, decided to shift financial support to telescopes in Chile, where the darker skies are better suited for cosmological research.

PHOTOS BY MT. WILSON INSTITUTE



HOOKER: *The 100-inch telescope (the diameter of its light-focusing mirror) peers into the sky from seven-story dome.*

In subsequent years, the Mt. Wilson Institute, a group of volunteers, has been plotting the revival of the famed facility. The number of research projects at telescopes on the mountain has doubled in the past two years. The capstone of the observatory's reemergence will be the reopening of the 100-inch Hooker, named after a businessman who put up the initial money.

Using $100,000 donated by a local foundation, the institute expects to take its first images with the instrument in June. Another $100,000 is being sought to complete the renovation, which members hope will happen by fall.

When fully functioning, the 100-inch (the diameter of its light-focusing mirror) will still be a formidable scientific tool, among the dozen or so largest telescopes in the world.

"It is one of the star-class instruments, at one of the best sites in the world," Dr. Jastrow says.

From the inside, the telescope is a monument to girth and the ghosts of astronomy's past. It is held together by bolts and bearings and girders that befit a battleship. The dome is seven stories high and half a block across. It cinches open with a primordial groan.

Downstairs, the wood lockers where the Hales and Hubbles and others who made Mt. Wilson, in the words of Jastrow, "arguably the most important site in the history of astronomy," still stand, their names affixed to the doors with tape.

Standing out in a fraternity like this can be difficult: Albert Michelson, who first measured the speed of light by bouncing a beam off a nearby mountain, only merits an outdoor plaque and a toolshed named after him.

The biggest leap forward for Mt. Wilson in the future may lie in a technology called adaptive optics. It is designed to offset the effects of atmospheric distortion, a bane of astronomers since Galileo. Light rays from stars bend like straws when passing through Earth's atmosphere. This "twinkling" delights romantics but irks astronomers, yielding gauzy images.

The trick is to pass the jumbled rays through a "rubber mirror" – a deformable surface that can be flexed thousands of times a second – to straighten out the beams and produce a tightly focused spot.

Using adaptive optics on the 60-inch, astronomers at Mt. Wilson have produced the sharpest focus of any telescope of its size in the world. Applying the technology to the 100-inch, something Jastrow says will probably take another year and $250,000, would boost the instrument's ability to view our own and nearby galaxies – and offset some of the effects of light pollution.

"We will have the highest-resolution telescope that has ever existed on the face of the earth or in space," says Dr. Sallie Baliunas, an astronomer at the Harvard-Smithsonian Center for Astrophysics and deputy director of the Mt. Wilson Institute.

Increased resolution

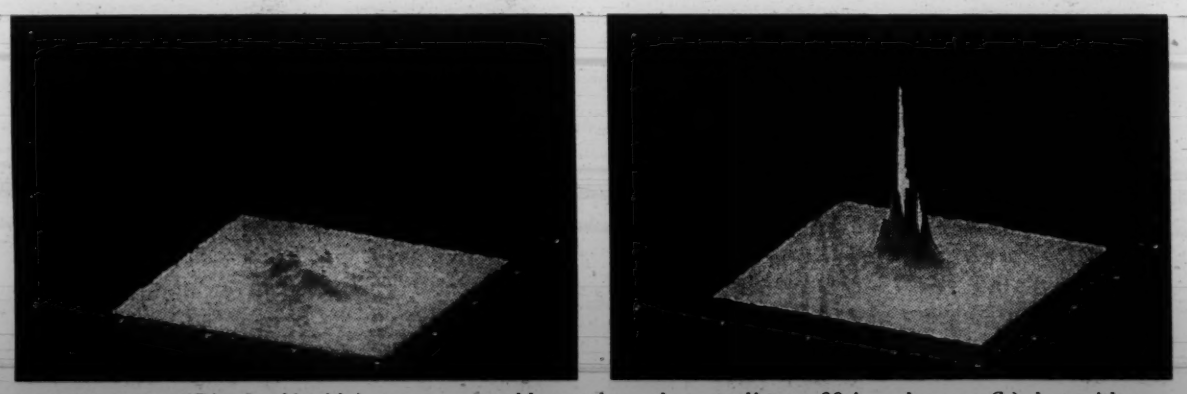
This isn't just home-mountain boosterism. Others working with the technology say that, when perfected and applied to an instrument the size of the Hooker, it should dramatically increase its resolution and reach. While Mt. Wilson will still never do deep-space research, it will broaden its role in studying the sun, nearby bright stars, and in the search for planetary systems.

"They will have the chance of taking some of the best images in the world," says Dr. Sydney Wolff, director of the National Optical Astronomy Observatories in Tucson, Ariz.

Other telescopes on the mountain are helping to search for extraterrestrial intelligence. A robotic telescope is being built that astronomers will be able to operate remotely.

Renovation of another reflector, a 24-inch, will bring the heavens into classrooms. Students will be able to call up the telescope's pictures, as well as other stellar and planetary information from a data bank, at the tap of a computer key.

Back at the picnic table, over an egg-salad sandwich, Jastrow reflects on these changes like a proud father. All this, he concludes, should restore Mt. Wilson's place in the pantheon as "America's Observatory."



ADAPTIVE OPTICS: *Binary (double) star appears blurry through an ordinary 60-in. telescope (l.), but with a 'rubber mirror' to cancel atmospheric distortion, the two bodies orbiting each other pop out distinctly (r.).*

BOOKS

Decorating Your Home's 'Outdoor Room'

By Christopher Andreae

THERE appears to be a never-ending flow of books hot off the publishers' presses to give advice on garden planning and design. They vary from the systematic-scientific to the personal-anecdotal, from the inspirational-ideas to the pictorial-idealist – the sort of book that drives you to either despair or greater ambition with images of unattainable beauty.

A book that is full of stimulating pictures, original ideas, and particularly helpful practical advice is "Creating Japanese Gardens" by Philip Cave. No matter if you aren't Japanese or a Zen Buddhist; no matter if you prefer the idea of an American or British garden around your house. Any gardener can discover adaptable planning and construction ideas in this excellent book. Making a waterfall or stream, for instance, is not an exclusively Japanese tradition, and this book contains clear diagrams and sound methodology on the subject. Advice on (and pictures of) different kinds of paths also offer a range of possibilities. The Japanese mingling of artificiality with apparent faithfulness to nature pervades these pages.

Arches and pergolas are garden features with ancient origins in a number of cultures – including those of Japan and China – but have become particularly popular as structural elements in European garden design. One of the Letts Guides to Garden Design, "Arches and Pergolas," by Robert Ditchfield, is a deceptively small book that contains a surprising amount of information, though it is a little short on construction techniques. The book includes plenty of ideas to start one off hunting for the marvelous variety of scrambling and climbing plants suitable for growing over arches and arcades and tunnels – different roses, wisteria, climbing hydrangea, laburnum, and honeysuckle. The author emphasizes careful siting of arched structures in the garden, and leaves the reader with the feeling that no garden is quite complete without one. Arches provide flowers overhead and add seclusion and mystery to the garden.

"The Ornamental Gardener: Creative Ideas for Every Garden," by Miranda Innes, is a something-for-everyone book. Clay Perry's photographs contribute more than a little to the atmosphere. The book is about furnishing that outdoor room – the garden – and includes examples of gates and topiary, garden sculpture and fountains, gazebos and grottoes. It is wildly eclectic, ranging from eccentric historical pastiche to (though rarely) the modernist. How about a seat you can wheel about the garden like a barrow, chasing sun or shade? Edwardian architect Edwin Lutyens designed one, and it is reproduced for the wealthy today. Steps, says the author, are a "wonderful opportunity to show off potted plants" – so they are. Under the caption "bold bridge" is a startlingly blue painted wooden bridge with striking white struts. Nearby, along the stream banks, bloom blue hydrangeas and agapanthus. The photograph might inspire one to be a little less timid in the choice of man-made structures to place among one's plants.

A not over-large but scrupulously organized book, and one that will be useful for a long time as a reference, is "The Plant Growth Planner," by Caroline Boisset. Its charts, showing the growth patterns and ultimate height and spread of certain trees, shrubs, climbers, ground-covers, and herbaceous perennials, are useful to any gardener determined not to overplant – or underplant. Of course, even such a systematic guide to good planning still leaves room for unpredictable eventualities (droughts, local microclimates, caterpillars), which – because it is an art and not a science – make horticulture the experimental delight it is. Particularly useful are the pruning codes for hedges, as well as clear diagrams showing how relatively high different hedging plants – box, holly, beech, and so on – will be in eight years. A very practical book.

So is Cassandra Danz's "Mrs. Greenthumbs: How I Turned a Boring Yard into a Glorious Garden and How You Can, Too" in its own breezy, self-consciously humorous manner. You could read this narrative straight through, season by season. It's all very chatty, hyperbolic, and hilarious. Or you could use the index. Look up "pruning" for example: After Mrs G. gets over raucously describing how she initially felt "like a mass murderer" every time she cut down an unwanted sapling, you come to a page or two of very sound tips for pruning. But why does this writer have to be so determinedly enjoyable all the time? Is it because she has a radio program in upstate New York?

CREATING JAPANESE GARDENS
By Philip Cave Charles E. Tuttle: Boston, 176 pp., $34.95 (Aurum Press: London)

ARCHES AND PERGOLAS
By Robert Ditchfield Canopy Books/Abbeville, 63 pp., $9.95 (Charles Letts $ Co.: London)

THE ORNAMENTAL GARDENER: CREATIVE IDEAS FOR EVERY GARDEN
By Miranda Innes Stemmer House: Owings Mills, Md. 160 pp., $35 (Eddison Sadd Editions Ltd.: London)

THE PLANT GROWTH PLANNER
By Caroline Boisset Prentice Hall, 192 pp., $25 (Mitchell Beazley: London)

MRS. GREENTHUMBS: HOW I TURNED A BORING YARD INTO A GLORIOUS GARDEN AND HOW YOU CAN, TOO
By Cassandra Danz Crown, 246 pp., $12 paper

CUTTING GARDENS
By Anne Halpin and Betty Mackey Simon & Schuster, 144 pp., $27.50

THE GARDEN SOURCEBOOK: A PRACTICAL GUIDE TO PLANNING AND PLANTING
By Caroline Boisset and Fayal Greene Crown, 360 pp., $40 (Mitchell Beazley: London)

"Cutting Gardens," by Anne Halpin and Betty Mackey, concentrates on growing plants for flower-arranging. But much of the advice is the same for any flower garden. If flowers are to be grown solely for indoor use, however, and outside decoration is of no importance, then the design of your garden may be different. Planting in massed blocks of one species, or even in lines like vegetables, is perfectly acceptable. The encyclopedia at the end is particularly useful, suggesting how many plants are good for cutting – I was surprised to see holly, ferns, impatiens, and lobelia cardinalis all recommended – and also advising on how best to treat different stems to make them last in water.

A fat book that is packed with all kinds of planning ideas, and amply illustrated with almost 1,000 photographs and 300 illustrations, is "The Garden Sourcebook: A Practical Guide to Planning and Planting," by Caroline Boisset and Fayal Greene. This book includes a useful plant selector, glossary, and lists of suppliers. But the stimulating main part of the volume touches on items you might not find anywhere else – sundials, wall-ornaments, and retaining walls. This is not a how-to-make-things book, but it looks at stylistic ideas, at questions of how best to deal with edges and boundaries, and at countless ways of covering surfaces in a garden. It also includes a diversity of gardening styles – Victorian, wild, subtropical, cottage, and Japanese, too. If you were to choose only one book from the current batch to plan a garden, this would be it.

■ *Christopher Andreae, a Monitor staff writer, lives in Glasgow.*

JERRY HARPUR/FROM 'THE ORNAMENTAL GARDEN'

FLOATING PAVILION: *Surrounded by exotic foliage, this garden refuge in a pool affords welcome cover from the sun in Queensland, Australia.*

FILM

Stronger government funding, a recent blockbuster, and a flair for originality have overcome the Australian movie industry's slump

A Film Resurgence From Down Under

By Catherine Foster
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

SYDNEY

LAST year, a low-budget Australian film that had originally been a student project was picked to go to the Cannes Film Festival. The next day, distributors from all over the world were lined up to buy it.

"Strictly Ballroom," a story about the triumph of individuality over hidebound tradition in the world of ballroom dance, drove the Cannes, France, audience to cheers and went on to become a commercial success.

Many in the film industry here are hoping the same thing will happen again this year. Last month, the Australian Film Commission announced that an unprecedented number of Aussie films have been chosen to take part in the 46th Cannes Film Festival, which begins May 13. Five were picked this round, three more than the previous record.

Other Australian films, while not going to Cannes, are making their mark around the world. Yahoo Serious's "Reckless Kelly" is doing well at the box office here and will get mainstream release overseas. And the wildly ambitious "Map of the Human Heart" (reviewed in the April 19 Monitor), which was filmed on several continents and features an international cast, has just been released in the United States to generally favorable reviews.

Without question, the film industry in this nation of only 17 million people is earning international recognition again after a slump of several years in the late 1980s.

In the '70s and early '80s, government funding and generous tax incentives helped produce such mainstream hits as "My Brilliant Career," "Man from Snowy River," "The Chant of Jimmie Blacksmith," and the commercial blockbuster, "Crocodile Dundee."

But such directors as Bruce Beresford, Peter Weir, Fred Schepisi, and Dr. George Miller left the country after success with those films brought them lucrative offers from Hollywood.

Moreover, the plentiful government funds resulted in a deluge of mediocre films. In the '80s, the government began to gradually reduce the tax incentives, and in 1988 created a new government body, the Film Finance Corporation (FFC), through which it funds films. From a peak of 42 films in 1987-88, the average number of films produced annually through government funding over the last four years has been 25.

The financial picture has stabilized since the late '80s. Last year the FFC was allocated $60.9 million and helped fund 50 films, TV movies, and documentaries. Filmmakers are required to raise some funds themselves. The industry's impulse today is to produce fewer, higher-quality films, and promote them better.

Many Australians are taking pride in the fact that filmmakers standing by their own original vision are being taken seriously in the international film world.

Each state has its own office that funds films. And a different government body, the Australian Film Commission, provides new and young filmmakers with enough money to get them through the development phase.

A whole new generation of directors is coming of age, with a different set of concerns than those of the earlier directors. Many are doing contemporary urban dramas that are influenced by 20 years of feminism and an increasingly multicultural society.

Four out of the five films chosen for Cannes were directed by women, some of whom link their success to government funding of the industry. "The level of government support has enabled us to develop without the studio system that exists in America," said Laurie McInnes, director of "Broken Highway." "I know a lot of women directors who have gone to America and worked there who say it would have been a lot harder there, because the studios are male-run."

Jenifer Hooks, executive director of Film Victoria, the state's film-funding body, agrees that Australian film is resurgent. "It's a combination of the financing system continuing – you need to have known, accessible financing to work towards – and there's a greater sense of confidence. Success [of 'Ballroom' and 'Romper Stomper'] is something that buoys everybody."

Phillip Adams, former chairman of the Australian Film Commission, columnist, and public-radio show host, says: "What's happened in Australian films is that there's been a celebration after having come out of losing our own culture. We never heard our own accent in films until the '70s films that reclaimed history. These preoccupations have passed.

"The kids making films now don't care about big issues of national identity. They're approaching things with style, quirkiness. Many deal with a profusion of ethnic views."

Tracey Moffatt, director of "Bedevil," says, "I wanted to put down on celluloid some ghost stories I grew up hearing from my extended Aboriginal and Irish-Australian families ... stories that had sent shivers up my spine as a child and which, over the years, had become myths.

Ms. Moffatt and the other four directors are the first generation to have come of age in a multicultural Australia. Some of them look at the cultural clashes between the homogeneous Anglo-Celtic culture and the newcomers.

Baz Luhrmann's "Strictly Ballroom" is a happy, campy satire at one slice of that society that resists a dancer doing Latin steps with a woman in a flame-colored dress. Geoffrey Wright's "Romper Stomper," on the other hand, is a gritty look at suburban alienation and skinhead violence toward Asian immigrants.

Despite plot differences, the two films have common origins. "What unifies such disparate films as 'Ballroom' and 'Romper' is that they're writer driven or creative driven," she points out. "They're generated by a writer's perception of their own life and times. The '70s films were producer-driven: 'Hey, what can we make next?' "

And Australians are taking pride in the fact that filmmakers standing by their own original vision are being taken seriously in the international film world. It puts Australia on the map.

"That's the only reason you have a society committed to spending taxpayer dollars on films," Hooks says. "The only reason is to interpret our own life and times to ourselves. If that happens to strike a chord elsewhere, fine. It's our tiny corner of interpretation of our lives that's outside of American cultural hegemony."

MIRAMAX FILMS

'STRICTLY BALLROOM': *Paul Mercurio (left) and Tara Morice (right) in Baz Luhrmann's recent picture, which was originally conceived as a 30-minute student production on a budget of less than $50.*

Australia's Top Picks for Cannes

SYDNEY

THE first three were selected for the main competition:

The Piano (Jane Campion): An emotionally complex story about an Australian woman who travels to New Zealand in the 1850s with her young daughter for an arranged marriage. It stars Holly Hunter, Harvey Keitel, and Sam Neill.

Broken Highway (Laurie McInnes): A young merchant seaman (Aden Young) travels to a small coastal town to deliver the bequest of a dead workmate and friend.

Frauds (Stephan Elliott): An insurance investigator blackmails and robs his victims in a series of games, pranks, and tortures. It stars Phil Collins, Hugo Weaving, and Josephine Byrnes.

Bedevil (Tracey Mofatt): A trilogy of ghost stories that follows characters pestered by visions in three gothic settings in tropical northern Australia. A debut feature film, it was selected for Un Certain Regard, a category for off-beat films.

Excursion to the Bridge of Friendship (Christina Andreef): A famous Bulgarian folksinger writes to a stranger in Sydney in hopes of bringing her talent to the West. The stranger wants no part of it. A short film, it was invited to compete in the non-award category that gave "Strictly Ballroom" its start.

– C. F.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
Britain uses United Nations leadership role to explore impacts of the Soviet collapse
Britain's Major Calls for Summit On Soviet Crisis
Eastern Europe Struggles to Shed Vestiges of Soviet Dominance

One of the World's Top 20 Newspapers

In a recent issue of the Gannett Center Journal, the Gannett Foundation Media Center at New York's Columbia University published an article entitled "Global Elite: A Newspaper Community of Reason." The article selected *The Christian Science Monitor* as one of the top six newspapers in the US, and top twenty in the world, for its "solid quality and intellectual perspective."

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The Home Forum

Roots Reaching Deep into Hungarian Soil

'RE-HARD! Re-hard!"

I can still hear the voice of my great-grandmother calling me. Eighty years of life in America wasn't enough to free the hold of the Hungarian language on her tongue. Her r's rolled at length in accordance with her mood, and her i's sounded like e's. Actually, she and her daughter had a language all of their own – neither English nor Hungarian, but a mixture of both – and although it was intelligible to me, it still raised my curiosity.

But back then, mid-70s, I was not yet a teenager. I thought and knew very little about Hungary.

Katalin Kovacs Szénégetö was her name, and she lived to be 92 years old. She wore a white wig, asked only for the "vings" when we ate chicken, and her hearing aid rang all night when I tried to sleep in the adjacent twin bed. In that "foreign" language, she also talked in her sleep, and it sounded like the prayers she said in the evening at bedside.

This was all some time ago in Poway, Calif., yet despite our difficulties communicating, she sparked the curiosity that burned inside me until I finally made my way to Hungary, after a college degree and a taste of the 9-to-5 American job experience.

* * * *

Flying into a wintery Budapest airport, the city from my little oval window greeted my nervous anticipation with a cold hand. Patches of old city snow – frozen and thawed over again to a rough black crust – lined the streets.

A young friend of mine picked me up in his Dacia, and we drove to my final destination, the city of Kecskemét. Located south of Budapest in the center of Hungary, between the Danube and Tisza rivers, this farming region is known as the Hungarian Great Plain. It's as flat as Nevada. The tallest hill visible from Kecskemét is a man-made dirt dome – called the Benko Dome after the communist leader who had it constructed. I hear the dome is collapsing from the center due to an unstable foundation.

I soon learned that the teaching job I thought I had secured from America no longer existed. Hungary's financial troubles had found me before I had found a flat. It was not until I had to search for work (and finally found a job at an English-language school) that I regarded my great-grandmother's voyage to the United States with admiration and empathetic pride. She was 16, penniless, and alone when her ship pulled into New York Harbor just before World War I.

The private school where I work consists of two small apartments on the third floor of a long block of flats – a communist speciality. At first, the idea of a school located in two flats rather than in an independent structure seemed odd to me. But I soon found private businesses at other peculiar sites. The ground floors of many such communist-constructed buildings were private garages, but entrepreneurs have converted their garages to "nonstop" (24-hour) variety stores, indoor-outdoor cafés, or little clothing boutiques.

My students, both young and old, for whom English has become a job prerequisite and the only ticket for a stable future, see nothing wrong with our apartment school.

* * * *

"Why did you come to Hungary?"

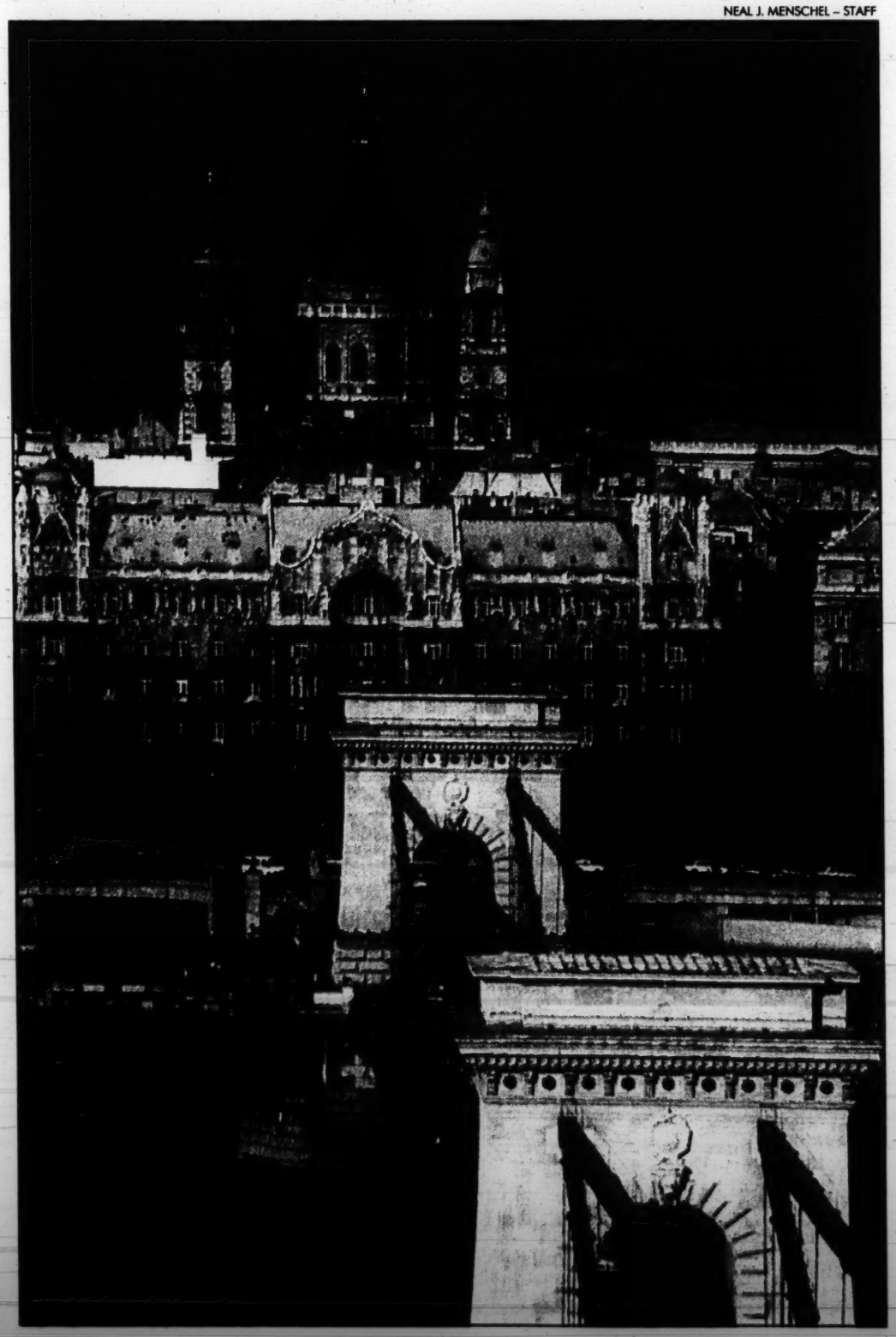
So many times I have been asked this question in earnest. And every time I answer it, or attempt to answer it, what comes forth from my mouth is more refined and clear, as if with time decisions made in the past crystallize into transparent reasons. Since my arrival in Hungary, I have learned a lot about myself – my needs, excesses, and desires, as a young product of American society.

It was my contact with my great-grandmother – and now my memories of her – that partially explains why I came to Hungary. I felt the existence of a living connection between family and ancestry – like the unseen roots of a tree that give life to what we admire as reality. So, in part, I came to Hungary to experience my past.

My roots extend to the far northeast reaches of present-day Hungary, to a sleepy little village called Gönc. I hastily made my way to this significant place. From a Berlitz survival Hungarian book I read on the train ride out, I had managed to retain only a few words. No one from the Szénégetö family, except perhaps the next generation, will ever know English. But what followed was a union that needed no words.

My Uncle Sandor and I attended a service on a bright Sunday in the beautiful Catholic church in the center of town. Then I joined him afterwards for the rest of his Sunday ritual: a walk up the hill to the cemetery where the Szénégetö family grave lies. Motionless, he stood over the tombstone, and I shared his closeness to the entire family, including the deceased.

NEAL J. MENSCHEL – STAFF



BUDAPEST CITYSCAPE: *Roman Catholic basilica in Hungary's capital.*

As we descended the hill from the graveyard, I had to squint against the bright April sun. Concentrating on keeping my footing on the dirt road, I lowered my gaze from the tapestry of small peach and apricot orchards and rectangular vineyards down to my feet. My head and shoulders assumed the same position as they had in the cemetery. In the village of my great-grandmother's youth, and at the side of my Uncle Sandor, I felt like a pioneer of the past. I could only guess at the wisdom of his words, but I think they meant: You see, time is not so important after all.

I returned to Kecskemét with a confident feeling of belonging.

* * * *

Every young Hungarian man is obligated to fulfill a one-year term in the Army. I have never served in the armed forces, but all of my Hungarian friends hate it. I regularly find myself pondering obligation when I see small groups of comrades uniformly dressed in Army green – a common sight here because Kecskemét, with its military airport base, is a strategic military headquarters.

I've more than once thought myself selfish for leaving my own country and coming to Hungary. But temporary selfishness and self-discovery, at times, seem indistinguishable: an American pioneer, or my great-grandmother, for example. She undoubtedly left Hungary in search of a better, safer life. I think we all must focus on ourselves sometimes to discover – or try to discover – who we are.

On the other hand, I remember the feeling I had back in the United States while still pondering coming to Hungary. I felt almost obligated to come. Not an obligation in the sense of childhood chores – taking out the trash and doing the dishes. Rather, a responsibility to understand where I've been, so that I know where I need to go in life. I also felt a duty to give back to society somehow. As much as I loved being a student, I needed to turn the tables and take a seat behind the teacher's desk.

* * * *

After a demanding and tiring seven months on the job, my summer holiday finally arrived. I needed a break from the routine of teaching. I headed towards the famous Lake Balaton.

Hungarians don't have a sea or an ocean to visit, and perhaps this accounts for the very special relationship that Hungarians have with their water.

I watched young and old alike wade in the shallow southern waters, splashing their uppers in a meditative, aquatic Tai Chi, finishing with a climactic neck-high dip. Why did they receive the water so slowly? I naturally dove right in. Not more than a week had passed, however, before one of my friends noticed that I was also "receiving" the water.

* * * *

"If the communists did one good thing for Hungarians," my friend Laszlo said, and not softly, as we sat outside at a café,

"they inadvertently brought families and friends close together." Laszlo, a young rock musician who just returned from Holland, was describing life under communist rule, and his sometimes rebellious antics of protest. Clearly, the most pressing need then – during the 35 years of communism – was to know whom you could trust. This, he said, "kept families and friends close together."

For 35 years, Kecskemét was home for an estimated 10,000 to 20,000 Russian soldiers, commanders, and their families. They never bothered to learn Hungarian, which, in addition to their contrasting facial features and Russian attire, was a daily reminder of their unsolicited presence. It was in June, 1991, that the Russians finally left, but the heartaches, economic troubles, and memories remain.

One set of old Russian barracks, a huge, formerly majestic town building, lies just outside the center of town. It was seized in 1946, and its ownership papers were destroyed. Dilapidated and melancholic, it today sits abandoned, a symbol of former stateliness and communist wrong-doing. "They just *used* the buildings, they didn't care about them," my friend Zoli explained.

It's hard to imagine that people actually lived there two years ago. It's a far cry from the well-tended flower gardens and yards outside one-story homes, and the plethora of flower boxes and plants that flood the balconies and windows of square, cement blocks of flats where Hungarians live. It's a contrast that will never blend.

I know the exterior of the building very well, because I have taught English classes at a neighboring factory. There I uncovered the remnant of Hungary's past to which Laszlo referred. I asked my class, a mix of young and old, married and single, what their lifelong dreams were.

"Big families," the young men responded, their answer echoed by the others, "Lots of grandchildren." Smiling under a full moustache that restlessly searched for words, another man submitted his hopes for a long life for all Hungarians, in his mind the imminence of surrounding conflicts in Eastern Europe.

* * * *

I met a man the other day who just returned to Hungary. He's Hungarian, and he's back for good, leaving a life in Toronto that he started back in 1969. A typical success story: Years of hard work in the restaurant business paid off. He bought the nice apartment, a new Honda. However, he never found anyone with whom he thought he could start a family.

I think it's his family in Kecskemét that in part brought him back home. As we chatted with his relatives, I noticed in him a typical Western serenity, a respect for high ethics, a patient tolerance, and a politically correct mentality, all confidently wrapped up in a still very Hungarian man.

As we sat around a Victorian dining table sipping tea and nibbling cakes, I bombarded him with questions, monopolizing his time. Between the china cups and silver spoons, I hastily sought answers to the questions of my soul.

It's now springtime, and I've been busy in the garden learning how to grow paprika, corn, potatoes, and grapes. Hungary is a country of farmers and moonlighting gardeners. It's one of the ways of making ends meet. I have noticed that student attendance and attention drops every spring. And gardening has had humbling effects on me.

'Why did you come to Hungary?' So many times I have been asked this question. In part, I came to experience my past.

I feel smaller here than I ever felt in America. Perhaps this is the result of living in a country the size of an average American state, multiplied by monetary constraints that strap me and other Hungarians to a relatively immobile existence. Yet I feel more connected here to the rest of the world, especially when I'm in the garden. Among the rows of apricot and cherry trees, the dimension of time disappears, just as it does for my Uncle Sandor when he gazes down at the Szénégetö family grave. I feel within reach of everything, including myself.

Sometimes when my back is bent toward the earth, Hungarian soil trapped under my fingernails, I get to wondering about my great-grandmother. Looking at my dirty American hands, smooth but wide and thick like a Hungarian's, a family story my father once told me comes to mind. The reason my great-grandmother left Gönc and braved the perilous land-and-sea journey to America was that she was sick of the mud.

Richard Starets

Just Passing Through

He trudges through the library,
crumpled bag from Robinson's.
Someone purchased something last year,
now, he has his belongings stuffed in it.

He has on a dark suit, even a hat,
several weeks of dust,
but the coat's buttoned
and he's got a newspaper in his right hand –
just like he bought it to read on the commute
to the suburbs.

He's not looking for books in here –
he's looking for a space,
a place, to put his time.
He's looking for somewhere to be,
maybe to fall asleep.
But he can't do that here,
and not even in the Children's Room
where he sometimes sits.

He's looking for a chair
to call his own,

A ride that's not going anywhere,
but which will take him home.

Karen Kenyon

Freedom From Nightmares

I HAD been having nightmares every night for two years. It was the same dream over and over—a rehearsal of a very difficult experience in my life. I badly needed relief but felt helpless to prevent the nightmares because they took place while I was asleep. I felt I had no control over the situation.

As a student of Christian Science, however, I had learned to turn to God for help with all kinds of problems. I knew that God loved me as His dear child, and He certainly didn't intend for me to suffer. Because I felt so overwhelmed by these continual nightmares, I finally asked another Christian Scientist to pray with me about this. This individual is a Christian Science practitioner, a person who devotes his life to helping others find peace and healing through turning to God in prayer.

When we pray we are acknowledging the power of God to heal. We are opening our thought to the fact that there is a loving God who governs His creation with compassion and authority, and we are placing ourselves in His care.

The Christian Science Monitor's Religious Article

I began to pray more earnestly about this situation and to acknowledge the allness of God's goodness and the nothingness of evil's claim to power. I saw that I needed to get to the root of the difficulty, which I could only do by letting God's Word do its work in transforming my thought. I certainly didn't know, myself, what needed correcting to stop the nightmares!

In Hebrews we read: "The word of God is quick, and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart." No one knows us better than God does. He created us to be like Him, so He knows of our innate goodness, innocence, and purity. At the same time, His Word pierces and deflates even the most stubborn of fears and memories, enabling us to live lives blessed by Him.

God governs everything about His creation—even man's consciousness! Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer of Christian Science, tells us in her book *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, "Consciousness, as well as action, is governed by Mind,—is in God, the origin and governor of all that Science reveals." When we go to sleep at night, we are not vulnerable to the unknown dark recesses of a mortal mind. Whether we're awake or asleep, the truth is that God cares for us by giving us His thoughts. He is always awake, always watching over us as His beloved reflection, man. Our role is to acknowledge this.

During this time of earnest prayer, a small detail of the nightmare suddenly came to mind. This small incident had been like a thorn in my side for those two years through the nightmares. The memory of it brought regret out of all proportion to the misdeed. Soon, however, I realized that what I really needed to be challenging was not the nightmarish event in the dream but the belief that I or anyone could ever lapse from harmony. I began to see that no human circumstance had the power to change the fact that man is—that I am—the child of God. God's man cannot fall from grace. There is not a moment when he is outside God's government.

The nightmares stopped that day.

Nightmares have no God-given authority to usurp our peace. God's Word, the sword of Truth, works like a searchlight that is turned on in a cave. It chases away the darkness of ghostlike concerns and leaves us refreshed and at peace.

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Mother's Day At the Office

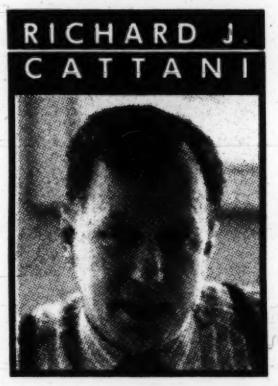
BETWEEN the recent "daughters' day," when school-age daughters joined a parent for a day of role-modeling at the office, and Mother's Day this weekend, I happened on the folder of my mother's papers. We were preparing for a refresher course in parent/child bonding, doing our part in today's pattern of adult children stopping home during an employment gap.

The slim folder, with another for my father, was in a tan metal file box, assembled by my sister in closing my parents' affairs. There was a birth and baptism certificate, in Russian, with Cyrillic script, but with the German names in Roman letters, a practice for the German settlements in Russia. It bore an Evangelical Lutheran Church seal: Ries, Emma, born in Krasnyi Kut, near the Volga River, Nov. 17, 1905; baptized four days later by Pastor Allendorf in the town chapel.

An eighth-grade certificate from Victoria School, Yorkton, Saskatchewan, Aug. 26, 1921. Three certificates for shorthand proficiency from Detroit Commercial College, with the required grade of 95 percent, the last dated Oct. 10, 1924. A marriage license, husband Primo Cattani, Sept. 1, 1928; standing up were best friend Anita Perry and brother Ferdinand Ries.

Then three Detroit public high school report cards, dated 1948 and 1949, showing perfect attendance and honor grades, one with her husband's signature and the others signed by two of her daughters, who were in high school with her at the time.

This is about where my consciousness of my mother's attempts at a working career checks in.



After World War II the big issue in our neighborhood, as elsewhere, was not the nuclear threat from Soviet Russia; it was mothers learning to drive. Up and down our street, stick-shift autos bucked as wives who had helped keep the war effort running with factory and relief work demanded to keep their effectiveness going. Not yet for women fighter pilots.

It was unheard of then for a grown woman, mother of four, to return to public high school, to the chagrin of at least one of her daughters, to get her diploma. An added irony was that Mom became the president of the mothers' club as well, and she introduced me to the debate coach, who was to affect my own career in public affairs writing.

One last evening-school certificate was dated June 12, 1969.

The certificates show Mother's persistent effort to revalidate her skills for office work. Her first job, after her Detroit Commercial College training, was as secretary to a Chrysler Corporation executive. Then came a marriage, the stock market crash, children, the big war, and a new world to relate to.

She found other work at times, in sales and such. But opportunities, as the full sea of American womanhood can tell you, were few, mostly for those coming up, nearly never for those returning.

Should we have our mothers, not just our daughters, join us for a day at the office? How well are we doing, given our advantages as offspring? Are we living up to the aspirations and tenacity of our mothers' examples? Mother would see on the wall pictures of me with Nelson Mandela, Mario Cuomo, Ronald Reagan, each with a story to be told. The staff would say I don't let up.

We do the best we can, in each generation. In the 1980s graduating youths wanted to make megabucks right out of college; in the 1990s grown men and women are wanting to hold on to their jobs. For the poorest, education sputters out at the secondary level. Marriages come later, if at all. Children are born under generous pregnancy-leave policies, or under none at all.

Half the staff of this newspaper are women. Nine of the top 20 newsroom positions are held by women. But by other measures responsibilities are not yet equally divided. An unwelcome thought: With women's opportunities unachieved, the earnings expectations are starting to turn downward also for men.

What will be the redemption value of the certificates, educational, professional, and otherwise, that we, in the run of generations, collect?

Where in the great agricultural plain of the Volga did Emma's ambition take root? She worshiped her brilliant father and older brothers. But her ambition was of a feminine kind with its own strengths, a woman's model that needed no other validation.

■ *Richard J. Cattani is editor of the Monitor.*

OPINION / ESSAYS

Concerned about local conditions, the sluggish economy, and the deficit, Americans show waning enthusiasm for US role in foreign assistance

AID Needs New Support

By James C. Clad and Roger D. Stone

IN his April 21 Earth Day address, President Clinton wisely called for a strategic plan to increase United States environmental exports. But he failed to tie this proposal to the rest of the US foreign aid program, and thereby missed a great chance to rescue it from the doldrums. Altruism and national security, the principal justifications for US help to poor countries since World War II, no longer wash in Oshkosh.

With homeless crowding the streets, taxes rising, domestic public services on the decline, deficits persistent, and unemployment high, Americans want to keep their money at home. Regional conflicts, explosive population growth, and dismal third-world governance overseas further crimp our willingness to send dollars abroad.

Foreign aid is moribund, and the disarray within the Agency for International Development (AID) only compounds the unease. Long the flagship for US bilateral aid, it originally aimed at reducing poverty and achieving "economic development." But gradually, AID became entangled in extra responsibilities created by Congress.

These range from security assistance to friendly nations and balance-of-payments support for Egypt and Israel, to rental for US bases abroad. Disaster and famine relief also figure in AID's portfolio. So do HIV counseling, family planning services, and boosts for the US private sector. With such extra burdens, not to mention countless earmarks by legislators beholden to special interests, no wonder AID suffers from rudderless leadership and a poor self-image.

All this shows clearly on the bottom line. Back in the Marshall Plan era, we spent 2 to 3 percent of the gross national product (GNP) to rebuild Europe. In the 1970s a goal of 1 percent of GNP was set. We may think ourselves generous, but our aid spending has long ranked near the bottom of 18 rich-country donors belonging to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). In 1991, for example, appropriations for all "foreign aid," including the congressional add-ons, sank to just 0.20 percent of our $6 trillion GNP. Only Ireland does less.

To reverse these trends, foreign aid needs a new rationale. Some progress is being made. After fierce bureaucratic tussles in AID's fragmented empire, the Clinton administration has proposed a new design for AID. As outlined by AID administrator-designate J. Brian Atwood in his Senate confirmation hearing last week, the rejuvenated program will echo earlier doctrine and break new ground.

As it did during the 1970s, AID will continue to emphasize "basic human needs" and democracy, aiming at better health, education, and family-planning services. It will also help poor nations achieve "sustainable development" through environmentally sound management of land and resources. To focus the agency on these concerns, the administration should also ask Congress to either redistribute AID's profusion of additional tasks to other agencies or to drop them. All of this meshes well with the agenda agreed upon at the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro.

As outlined by AID administrator-designate J. Brian Atwood ... the rejuvenated program will echo earlier doctrine and break new ground.

STREAMLINING AID makes excellent sense. But the effort to recast foreign aid must not stop there. "Sustainable development" may mean even less than altruism on Capitol Hill and in the nation. Without political reinforcement, the new-look AID could continue to dodder along at present support levels or worse. This is where Mr. Clinton's call for environmental export enhancement comes in.

If the president wants to recapture public support for foreign aid, he must go beyond another bureaucratic reshuffle. He must tie giving help abroad to the creation of jobs at home. By helping US suppliers of environmental technologies and services export more, thus adding an anti-pollution thrust to our foreign-aid agenda, he can do just that.

Despite stiffening competition from Germany and Japan, the US environmental industry remains the world's largest, with at least $80 billion a year in sales. America's green companies employ 800,000 people, even though exports account for just 10 percent of their output. An export push into burgeoning global markets will dramatically increase their payrolls.

This orientation is not as novel as it might seem, for the market and the needs are well-defined. As developing countries industrialize and urbanize, they generate ever-greater amounts of dangerous waste.

While some pollution does not spread beyond national borders, most affects everybody. China, India, and Thailand, for example, possess substantial quantities of poorly burning coal that produce large global shares of acid rain and greenhouse gases. As in rich countries, citizens of developing and newly industrializing nations now realize the health hazards from pollution and are pressing for a cleanup. Their governments have slowly begun to respond, but they need assistance.

Our private companies and some of our national laboratories can give them what they need. Not AID, but other US government agencies with more expertise in business and finance should back this effort with real money.

By linking environmental export enhancement to an overdue streamlining of AID and greater attention to the population challenge, the Clinton administration can create an interagency foreign-aid effort appropriate to the times and able to rally broad support. The administration should not let the chance slip by.

■ *James C. Clad, an Asia specialist, is a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment in Washington. Roger D. Stone is vice chairman of ECO, a forthcoming new magazine about business and the environment, and the author of several books about aspects of sustainable development.*

UN's Cambodia Dilemma

Security Council must act against Khmer Rouge intransigence

By Edmund S. Muskie and Maureen S. Steinbruner

THE United Nations plan for a peaceful settlement of the Cambodian civil war is in the countdown phase, but it is also, demonstrably, in serious trouble.

As many observers predicted, the Khmer Rouge have actively worked to subvert the plan, while taking full advantage of its political provisions to advance their strategic position in outlying areas of the the country.

Their strategy has been effective. The "peacekeeping" credibility of the UN was seriously undermined last fall when the Khmer Rouge refused to disarm and demobilize. More recently, Khmer Rouge violence against ethnic Vietnamese and even UN personnel has gone unpunished, contributing to rising anxiety among the population and outright fear on the part of some UN workers. While no party in Cambodia is without blame for the deteriorating political and security situation, the Khmer Rouge alone have actively, consistently, and openly flouted the UN process.

Now, UN officials, including Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and Yasushi Akashi, head of the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia, are faced with an extremely serious dilemma. Any attempt to impose sanctions as elections approach would seem to further reduce Khmer Rouge incentives for exercising restraint during the balloting process. Yet, allowing the Khmer Rouge to continue their destructive acts without effective response already has weakened UN authority. Further passivity in the face of physical and political provocation could raise so much fear and doubt that a legitimate election could be impossible to conduct.

What to do? It may be that, for once in Cambodia's history, an obvious and simple answer is the right one.

An agreement was signed. It was forced on the Cambodian parties by their patrons among the five permanent members of the Security Council, but it was in the end conceded to, and a major commitment of UN resources resulted. Now, that agreement is being vitiated by one signatory.

This is not an issue of democratic principles or even principles of human rights, which are not accepted by all UN member nations and that therefore cannot be expected to override disparate views about what should happen in Cambodia. It is, rather, a question of whether international agreements made under UN auspices and voted on by the UN are to be honored and enforced.

The Khmer Rouge have reneged on their original commitment. If, in addition, they are able to prevent the election in Cambodia from taking place, or if they cause it to be conducted in an atmosphere of so much uncertainty and intimidation that its results cannot be validated, then the UN must act, or there will be little faith in UN promises in the future. Under such circumstances, the Khmer Rouge will have made themselves outlaws in the international community, and they should suffer whatever sanctions can be brought to bear in consequence, including military action.

To make it less likely that such action will be called for, the Security Council needs to declare in advance its intention to seek out and punish those who willfully subvert an important UN-sanctioned agreement. The secretary-general should bring this commitment to the Security Council for affirmation now, before it's too late.

ELIZABETH ROCK

Factional hostility and violence in Cambodia predated UN intervention, and are likely to continue at some level well into the future. The problem of resolving the interests of various outside parties, including those of China, Thailand, and the United States, also is many decades old, and will take time to sort out, no matter what government comes to power in Cambodia. But a determination to maintain the integrity of internationally sanctioned agreements should provide Cambodians some hope of working through these difficulties without the country again dissolving into chaos.

The fate of Cambodia is now inextricably linked to the role of the UN, but the prospects for the future role of the UN in world affairs are just as inextricably linked to the fate of Cambodia. This is a difficult test for the UN, at a time when it is confronting numerous other difficult tests. Inherently, the issue posed by Cambodia is as central as any: Can this organization be trusted? The answer to this question may well determine whether there is a significant peacekeeping function for the UN in the world's future.

■*Edmund S. Muskie, a former US secretary of state, is chairman of the board of directors of the Center for National Policy in Washington. Maureen S. Steinbruner is president of CNP. Both visited Cambodia recently.*

Two Out of France: Words and Picture

TWO stories out of France in recent days – each somewhat unsettling in its way – have nonetheless provided a little relief from some of the heavier items on the news agenda as well as some food for thought.

One is the report that the French, long defenders of linguistic unity, have begun to encourage the use of regional languages such as Provençal and Breton.

And the other is a controversy about the rights to a famous postwar photo of a young couple kissing in front of the Hotel de Ville in Paris. Do the two retired printers who say they were the pair captured on film by Robert Doisneau in 1950 have some claim on the famous image, widely reproduced in posters?

If the answer is that they don't, because, as photographer Doisneau maintains, the picture shows not these claimants but a pair of paid models, then something is amiss in what we might call the collective French national photo album. What does it say about the truth of an image if what the world has thought was a spontaneous moment of passion recorded by a photographer who was fortuitously on the spot turns out to be a posed shot?

More on that in a moment, though. It's unsettling enough, this idea of bilingual education coming to France. After all, France has been the country that for centuries has regulated usage of its language through the august body known as the Academy. The natural linguistic richness of France (eight distinct languages and more than a dozen dialects, aside from the languages immigrants have brought in) has been kept under strict control by a strong central government in Paris for years. But now in response to the relentless spread of English and to the homogenization of culture within the 12-nation "superstate" many fear the European community will turn into, the French are rediscovering regional languages.

RUTH WALKER

Well, why not? one wonders. Who would want to oppose a manifestation of cultural diversity, to use the current American buzzword? The move to regional languages may be an expression as much of the basic security of France in its nationhood as of its sense of threat from cultural incursion from abroad. The second flowering, if that is what it is, of Provençal, the language of the medieval troubadours, may be rather like the phenomena of recent years in England, when exceptionally hot warm summers have brought forth flora and fauna that don't usually thrive there.

Are these "museum" languages, "picturesque" ones that are being cultivated by government officials with budgets to do this school program or that dictionary? At a time when so many political entities seem to be deconstructing themselves into ever smaller units, the values of cohesiveness may be getting shortchanged in favor of diversity and multiplicity. Separatist groups seem to be an issue almost everywhere; even Scottish nationalists in their kilts may seem problematic rather than eccentric.

Meanwhile, back to the Hotel de Ville: Mr. Doisneau seems to have acknowledged, in discussions with Jean-Louis and Denise Lavergne in 1990, that they were indeed the subjects of his photo made 40 years before; they had recognized themselves in a reproduction of the image on the cover of a television magazine. They are now seeking compensation for what they charge is a violation of their privacy. But at a court hearing in the matter a few days ago, Doisneau maintained that the couple pictured were Françoise Bornet and Jacques Cartaud, two actors whom he paid to pose. Mme Bornet is now seeking an additional 20,000 francs.

The implications for the photographic world would be considerable if anyone who ever wandered into a shooter's viewfinder were allowed to make a claim. But one is tempted to root for the Lavergnes in this, or at least to want to believe it is they in the picture, partly because they are still together after all these years and it is heartening to think that the intensity of the relationship evident in the photo has been matched by durability; but also because Doisneau's photographs are among those images that define a place at a certain period, in this case, France in the first years after World War II, and one would like to think they were spontaneous events recorded, and not posed compositions.

A judgment on the two suits is to be given June 2.

■*Ruth Walker is deputy editor of the Monitor.*

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

Keep Ban on A-Tests

IN case no one has noticed, from Oct. 2, 1992, to the present, no country has tested nuclear weapons.

On that date, President Bush signed a measure that prohibited the United States from testing nuclear devices for nine months, the first time any nuclear nation has enacted a statutory ban of any duration on such activities.

Unfortunately, pressure is building to resume testing once the ban expires. On May 3, Undersecretary of Energy for Acquisition John Deutch told a congressional panel that testing will be needed to ensure the safety of warheads in the Pentagon's arsenal. The Energy Department is seeking $462 million in its fiscal '94 budget for four tests.

When the moratorium expires on July 1, President Clinton faces a choice. The '92 bill allows him, after notifying Congress, to resume a tightly limited schedule of tests until Sept. 30, 1996. After that, the moratorium resumes and continues until Russia tests.

Mr. Clinton can follow that path. Or he can follow a wiser course and seek to make the current moratorium permanent, taking the world another step toward marginalizing nuclear weapons.

Reliably verifying the safety of current stockpiles can be accomplished by means other than detonation, while the importance of US leadership on the question of a test ban is hard to overstate, especially given a rare opportunity for progress. The Russians and French have forgone testing unless the US tests, and the British cannot test because they use the US Department of Energy's Yucca Flats facility in Nevada. China currently averages one test a year.

A permanent, comprehensive test ban has been an explicit international goal ever since the objective was written into the preamble of the 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty. It also appears in the preamble to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which comes up for renewal in 1995. The sizable reductions in strategic nuclear arsenals that STARTs I and II would bring when fully implemented, combined with a test ban among the major nuclear powers, could add moral weight to the NPT among nations that until now have balked at signing. This weight may become even more critical if the NPT renewal effort includes attempts to strengthen enforcement and inspection provisions.

EDITORIALS

Inequality in Schools

ON May 1, Texas voters rejected, by almost 2 to 1, a proposition, submitted by the state legislature under pressure from the state Supreme Court. The turnout was very low. If passed, the initiative would have required more equitable distribution of state education funds.

Before the landmark 1954 school segregation ruling of the United States Supreme Court, Southern school officials claimed that black and white schools were "separate but equal."

The truth was that, almost without exception, they were separate but unequal, with black students carrying the burden of inequality. Now educational inequality is the product of disparity in wealth, not race.

Texas is in the spotlight now, but at one point some 42 states were under pressure to substantially narrow the funding gap between local schools in affluent communities. Those in poor areas in 25 states still haven't solved the problem.

The Texas Supreme Court has given the legislature until June 1 to come up with another plan to meet the demand for a greater measure of educational opportunity for students in the state's poorer school systems.

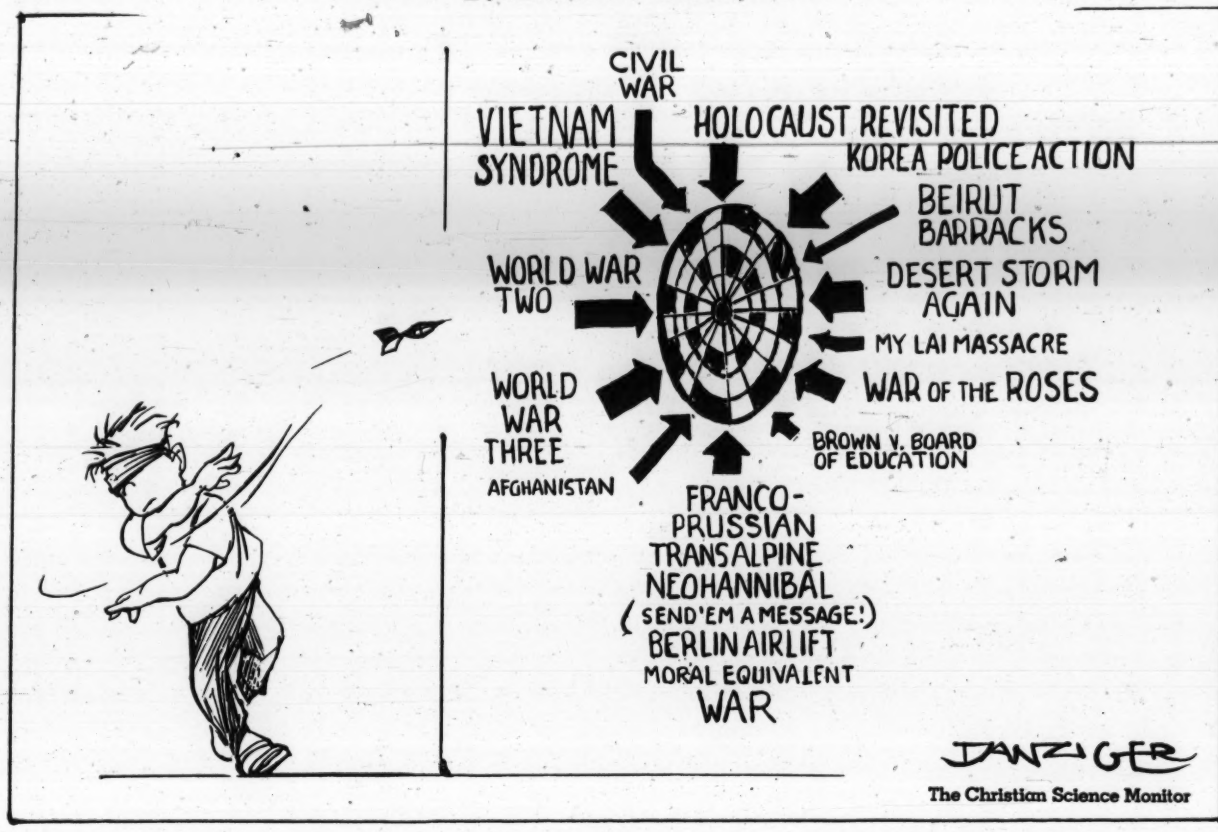
As documented in a recent Monitor article, similar situations dot America's education landscape. Recourse to the federal court system, which was the instrument for outlawing racial segregation in public schools, is not available to address the current issue. Although the US Supreme Court ruled in 1954 that racially segregated public schools were unconstitutional, it ruled in 1973 that the Constitution does not recognize a right to uniformity in the quality of public education.

This leaves the field to the conscience and good sense of citizens in the affected states.

One lesson learned in the school desegregation controversy is that the whole nation suffers if one segment or another is deprived.

The same sort of tolerance and generosity have to be demonstrated in solving the present educational challenge.

THE BALKAN ANALOGY



To Intervene or Not to Intervene in Bosnia

Secretary of State Warren Christopher has raised four tests for United States military intervention in Bosnia. The US needs to consider Mr. Christopher's views quickly. The issue is whether the US and/or NATO is willing to use air strikes to deter further Serbian attacks on civilian populations. This might be coupled by lifting the arms embargo, but the latter is helpful only if there is a US/NATO effort to deliver arms rapidly to the Bosnians. The following are answers to Christopher's four tests:

■ Clear goal. The military objective should be to prevent further Serbian attacks on civilian populations. We would not try to roll the Serbs back from territory they occupy by military means. We would protect the United Nations troops from Serbian attack, in particular the Canadian forces in Srebrenica and the other enclaves in eastern Bosnia. Air strikes would be employed, not ground troops. Strategic bombing would be held in reserve, to be undertaken if the Serbs continue to attack civilian populations.

■ Probability of success. Air strikes are limited in their impact but have the best likelihood of deterring further Serbian aggression, short of using ground forces. The alternative of not resisting the Serbs leaves the Muslims at risk in Bosnia and destroys completely the credibility of the UN. The Serbs are then more likely to move into other areas such as Kosovo.

■ Exit strategy. As US ground forces are not envisioned, an exit strategy is less central. The US would not be attempting to conquer Serbia, but to prevent the Serbs from conquering the rest of Bosnia. If the air strikes are an effective deterrent, they become a stabilizing factor. The UN is prepared to deploy peacekeeping forces when the fighting stops.

■ Sustained public support. I believe that the American public will accept using air power to prevent further attacks on civilians in Bosnia. Given the delay in European and US public responses to the Bosnian crisis, there are only imperfect options to choose from; but letting Serbian aggression run its course is the worst option of all. Srebrenica is a critical test of whether the UN will protect civilians. We cannot shirk backing the people of Srebrenica and their Canadian defenders. Other safe areas should be designated and the Serbs should be told that further use of artillery against Sarajevo will provoke aerial counterattack. But for air strikes to be a real deterrent, we need to telegraph to the Serbs our preparedness to use them and end the present ambiguity.

Lionel A. Rosenblatt ***Washington***
President, Refugees International

LETTERS

The editorial "Genocide's Crossroads," April 12, is moving and appealing. I wish I could believe that America could stand up to the task of facing history. However, the reasons for not taking military action in Bosnia pile up.

One of the primary lessons in Vietnam was that to win a war against guerrillas you have to take territory and keep territory. I doubt our army is trained for such action, or that the Army will commit the numbers necessary to hold territory. As in Vietnam, air strikes will be marginal and ineffective in this terrain. It seems likely the Serbs will obtain tactical nuclear weapons and, when disadvantaged, will use them. The more serious question: What will America do if US troops are subjected to nuclear weaponry? Will America recognize humanitarian restraints in such a situation? Also the American public cannot sustain a military undertaking. Vietnam created a poisonous divisiveness in our society. Even in World War II, with Nazism rapidly covering Europe, America could not unite until Pearl Harbor made self-interest clearly evident.

Margarite Hall ***Crozet, Va.***

This abominable war in the Balkans will not end by playing at peace negotiations with the Serbs and shipping in humanitarian aid parcels to the Bosnians. All this does is allow the West to glow with self-righteousness while avoiding military commitment – a doubly despicable attitude. Nothing has been achieved: Croatia has been devastated, Bosnia virtually destroyed, and we have sat by and gently deplored it all.

Arming the Bosnians themselves would be a small step, but the critical factor is in recognizing that the roots of the conflict lie in Belgrade and Moscow. Russia supports the idea of a blockade, but only reluctantly because of traditional paternalism toward Belgrade. Boris Yeltsin finds himself increasingly in debt and desperate for Western loans. The obvious step is to make financial assistance to Yeltsin totally dependent on heavy and effective pressure being put on Belgrade to end the aggression.

John Allison ***Exeter, England***